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The Study of Motivation for Defection Within the Intelligence Community: Hindering the Government's Ability to Prevent and Detect Defection

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THE STUDY OF MOTIVATION FOR DEFECTION WITHIN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY: HINDERING THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO PREVENT AND DETECT DEFECTION

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ABSTRACT

THE STUDY OF MOTIVATION FOR DEFECTION WITHIN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY: HINDERING THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO PREVENT AND DETECT DEFECTION

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Since its inception, the global community has been marred by insecurities about the intentions of other states, which led to states creating intelligence agencies to engage in human intelligence operations. In defense against foreign intelligence services, the U.S. has implemented policies and procedures, informed by defection research, to prevent and detect defection. However, this leads to the question does current research on motivation for defection adequately inform government policies and procedures to prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community? To interrogate this question, I present an in-depth analysis of motivation; the ways in which these conclusions have or have not been applied in defection studies; and current ways the government prevents and detects defection. Utilizing an understanding of these components, I present five case studies that demonstrate defection studies failure are unable to explain motivation, absent the incorporation of theoretical assistance from psychologists, sociologists, or social psychologists. In concluding, I assess that those studying motivation for defection within the intelligence community have not been studying motivation for defection, but ways in which to assist intelligence officers in eliciting defection from an individual. This focus, while advantageous for the intelligence community, fails to adequately inform the U.S. government in support their prevention and detection of defection. Faced with

this failure, I bring forward two proposals that would enhance the government's understanding of motivation for defection and the development of effective policies.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the establishment of the modern "state" there has been significant theoretical discussion about the implications and potential for interstate conflict and cooperation. Disagreements among scholars and practitioners within international relations have led to a variety of theories that range from the belief that war is omnipresent to the belief in the potential for a utopian global government; however, one consistent theme throughout all theories is uncertainty.[1] A few examples include the uncertainty of whether a state will act in their own interest, the global good, or a combination of both; the military capabilities of another; or the political, economic, or military intentions of an opposition. These uncertainties have led states to seek out ways to better understand its competitors, leading to the establishment of intelligence agencies. In the United States (U.S.), the intelligence community (a general term for the collection of U.S. intelligence agencies) has been tasked with the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information about other states, with other states also establishing similar intelligence structures. As Chapter 2 further explains, these intelligence agencies play an indispensable role in national and international security.

While states make up the structure of the international community, states are made of institutions, and these institutions are composed of people. The following paper looks at this most fundamental component of a state, the person. In focusing on the individual, the following paper evaluates a fundamental aspect of human intelligence (HUMINT), any intelligence that is

[1] Paul Williams and Matt McDonald, "An Introduction to Security Studies," in *Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Paul Williams and Matt McDonald (New York: Routledge, 2018), 1-14.

received from a person,[2] defection. Defection, the act of an individual giving classified information to another government, poses a significant risk to national security. To defend against this, governments have turned to their respective intelligence communities to establish and implement policies that are informed by research, leading the following paper to attempt to answer the question of *does current research on motivation for defection adequately inform government procedures to prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community?*

To answer this question, this paper focuses on understanding the development of motivational theory; the failure of those applying motivational studies to defection research; and the way in which research focusing on defection has informed (or failed to inform) government procedures to prevent and detect defection. To do this, I first demonstrate the indispensable role that intelligence agencies play in promoting national and international security; that without HUMINT, states would fail to truly understand the intentions of other states; and that an understanding of motivation and defection are imperative in collecting HUMINT. In Chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical frameworks that have shaped an academic understanding of motivation; the work of practitioners focusing on defection within the intelligence community; and current governmental efforts at preventing and detecting defection within the intelligence community. In Chapter 4, I demonstrate the viability of the conclusions of the theoretical and applied research by evaluating five case studies. In evaluating these case studies, I also look at how the government's understanding of motivation and the procedures failed (or succeeded) in preventing and/or detecting defection. Chapter 5 goes on to assess that research focusing on

[2] Central Intelligence Agency, "INTelligence: Human Intelligence," News & Information, last modified April 30, 2013, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2010-featured-story-archive/intelligence-human-intelligence.html.

applying motivational research to defection has failed to actually investigate motivation, thus leading to uninformed government procedures.

In closing, I conclude that those applying motivation theory to defection fail to address the motivation of an individual, instead focusing on ways to leverage superficial "symptoms" of motivation as a tool to be exploited by intelligence officers. I also postulate that this failure has inadequately informed the government about ways to prevent and detect defection. In taking this approach, this paper sets out to establish ways to better study motivation for defection, further securing U.S.' national security and adequately informing government policies.

CHAPTER 2

REASONS FOR STUDY

To adequately create a case for the studying of intelligence agencies, the following chapter is broken down into four sections, the first two sections discuss National and International Security, focusing on the defined threats within the given spheres and the role that the intelligence community plays in mitigating those threats in their support of promoting national and international security. The third section, HUMINT Sources, focuses on a particular type of intelligence source, the benefits of accessing this type of intelligence source, and the continued prevalence that HUMINT will play in the future. The final section of this chapter, Study of Motivation for Defection, discusses the act of a HUMINT source turning from their country to a foreign adversary, leading to the view that it is imperative to fully understand defection and the contributing factors, leading to effectively development procedures to prevent and detect it.

National Security

When looking to interstate relations, one component must be present for a state to persist in the international community, survival. There is a pervasive argument within international studies to the ways in which a state can ensure its survival, posing questions such as, “Can states cooperate to promote a collective security?” and “To what degree does relative power play in a state’s decision-making process?” However, one observation is evident, if the state does not exist, we are unable to talk about the state and its functions. Therefore, the following section takes a look at the various threats to a state’s national security and how intelligence, and the intelligence community as a whole, promotes national security.

The United States (U.S.), through diplomatic, international trade agreements, economic advantage, and military force has become a world super power and comes with the consequence of being exposed to numerous threats as noted in Robert Kagan's "Power and Weakness". He claims that through the predominance as a military force, the U.S. has positioned itself to be threatened by a variety of actors around the world.[3] These threats include competing interests with rival states; numerous terrorist threats and organizations, both domestic and international; and the potential for cyber-attacks on the U.S. These threats are outlined in depth in the National Security Strategy (NSS),[4] a document released by the President of the United States since 1987 outlining the most prevalent security threats around the world to U.S. national security. However, even prior to development of the NSS, the U.S. faced national and international threats, leading to the development and refining of seventeen intelligence agencies.[5] These agencies have a variety of jobs including, but not limited to: collecting and analyzing information from publicly available information (Open Source Intelligence); gathering and analyzing data on physical structures around the world determining their function and purpose (Geospatial Intelligence);[6] and gathering information about the structure, military capabilities, or other information about another country through human sources via covert collection (HUMINT).[7] In executing their responsibilities, the U.S intelligence agencies "defend against

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[3] Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, no. 113 (June & July 2002): 3-28.
[4] Donald Trump, "National Security Strategy of the United States of America," (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 2017).
[5] Nina, Agrawal, "There's more than the CIA and FBI: The 17 agencies that make up the U.S. intelligence community," *L.A. Times*, Sept. 16, 2017, http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-17-intelligence-agencies-20170112-story.html.
[6] National Geospatial Agency, "About the NGA," accessed September 16, 2017, https://www.nga.mil/About/Pages/Default.aspx.
[7] Central Intelligence Agency, "Human Intelligence," Offices of CIA, last modified August 03, 2016, https://www.cia.gov/offices-of-cia/clandestine-service/intelligence.html.

and mitigate threat actors operating below the threshold of open conflict" through the collection and defense of national and international secrets and to provide the President, U.S. policymakers, and other consumers (decision makers within the government) timely and accurate intelligence to allow them to make effective decisions.[8] The following section looks at the role that U.S. intelligence agencies play in defending the U.S. from the competing interests with rival states and against domestic and international terrorist threats.

Competing Interests with Rival States

As outlined in the 2017 NSS, one predominant threat that the U.S. faces is competing state interests, which include but are not limited to the security of the state against weapon systems and military force of a competitor and the knowledge of current and future operations of the opponent to disrupt the rival's economic or political situation.[9] While there are other interests of the state as defined by other political scientists and theorists, a focus on these threats demonstrate the prevalence and importance that the intelligence agencies have played in assisting the U.S. in defending its national security.

One primary aspect of interstate competition focuses on weapon capability inequality. Within this realm, there are numerous instances in which intelligence has played a vital role in providing policy makers with objective information to better inform their decisions. One such instance is revealed in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, where the U.S. determined that the Soviet Union (USSR) moved nuclear missiles to Cuba during the Cold War. At the time these missiles posed a threat because the U.S. perceived that these missiles had were more capable

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[8] Trump, "National Security Strategy," 2017; and Central Intelligence Agency, "CIA Vision, Mission, Ethos & Challenges," About the CIA, last modified March 24, 2016, https://www.cia.gov/about-cia/cia-vision-mission-values; Defense Intelligence Agency, "About the DIA," Accessed October 7, 2018, http://www.dia.mil/About/.

[9] Kenneth Waltz, *Man the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

than the U.S.' This misperception has become known as the "missile gap". To avert a potentially volatile situation, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) effectively ran Oleg Penkovsky as an informant, an intelligence asset who relayed information about the USSR missile operating systems,[10] allowing President Kennedy to make an informed decision on how to progress to diffuse the situation. A second way in which intelligence agencies contribute to national security is through the evaluation of military force and capabilities of a rival state. One key example that shows the prevalence of the intelligence community's work is in the case of Dmitri Polyakov. As a GRU colonel, Polyakov fed the CIA information on Chinese and Vietnamese forces, giving the U.S. access to classified information on the enemy forces and their movements.[11] While his work did not necessarily reveal inequalities within the battlefield, it allowed the U.S. an advantage by knowing that the Chinese and Vietnamese troops had the ability to muster against U.S. troops.

A second concern that rival states pose to national security could be categorized as economic or political threats. One example of an economic threat, discussed by John Brockmiller in his article "Psywar in Intelligence Operations," depicts the advantage that a state would have if they recognize a shift in the economy of their rival from the development of military equipment to that of consumer goods.[12] In this scenario, a rival country, with this information, would be able to have a more holistic picture of the other's actions and would be able to adjust one's policy to readily be able to counter the new economic market that would be emerging as a result of the production shift. Intelligence agencies also play a critical role in identifying,

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[10] Norman Polmar, and Thomas Allen, *Spy Book: the Encyclopedia of espionage* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1997).
[11] Richard Trahair and Robert Miller, *Encyclopedia of Cold War Espionage, Spies, and Secret Operations* (Enigma Books, 2012).
[12] John Brockmiller. "Psywar in Intelligence Operations," *Studies of Intelligence* 5, no. 3 (Sept. 1961): 49-55.

addressing, and responding to political threats from a rival state. A prime example is in their involvement in the case of the Russian disinformation campaign during the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election. The U.S. intelligence community gathered and evaluated evidence surrounding the claims of Russian involvement; contributed to the educating of policy makers on the conclusions of the investigation; their investigation and interaction with policy makers directly contributed to the implementation of sanctions against Russia.[13] While this is a more immediate example of intelligence agencies' involvement in political defense of U.S. national security, it shows the attempts of rival states to influence domestic affairs of the U.S.

Detection and Protection Against Terrorist Threats

In another prominent component in the 2017 NSS, the president identified the use of intelligence sources to continue to successfully rout out domestic and international terrorists.[14] While terrorism has remained a contested definition within the security field, the U.S. Patriot Act defines domestic terrorism as "an attempt to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping."[15] In concurrence with the vision of the NSS, the Director of National Intelligence, Daniel Coats, in "The Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community," deems homegrown violent extremists (HVEs)

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[13] Karen Yourish and Troy Griggs, "8 U.S. Intelligence Groups Blame Russia for Meddling, but Trump Keeps Clouding the Picture," *The New York Times*, August 2, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/07/16/us/elections/russian-interference-statements-comments.html; Conor Finnegan, Jordyn Phelps, and Arlette Saenz, "Trump administration sanctions Russians for 2016 election interference, other cyber attacks," *ABC News*, March 15, 2018, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-administration-sanctions-russia-2016-election-interference-cyber/story?id=53768648.

[14] Trump, National Security Strategy," 2017.

[15] Greg Myre, "What Is, And Isn't, Considered Domestic Terrorism," *NPR*, October 2, 2017, https://www.npr.org/2017/10/02/555170250/what-is-and-isnt-considered-domestic-terrorism.

as the primary domestic terrorist threat to national security.[16] These are individuals that are influenced by, and sometimes aided by, foreign extremist organizations to carry out attacks on U.S. soil. One recently declassified case of combatting HVE's is the British Secret Intelligence Service's (MI6) running of a HUMINT source inside al-Qaeda (AQ). In the book *Nine Lives: My time as the West's top spy inside al-Qaeda*, Aimen Dean describes his life inside AQ as an informant for MI6, where he spent a majority of his time passing information on AQ's attempts to influence nationals to carry out attacks on British and American soil.[17] Dean's account of his support for MI6 and the U.S. intelligence community demonstrates that the vital intelligence that he provided to his handlers prevented what would have been a number of successful terrorist attacks targeting the UK.

The previous section focused on two primary threats to national security: 1) competing interests of rival states and 2) the detection and prevention of terrorist threats, providing examples of a variety of cases and operations involving intelligence agencies and the impact that those cases and operations have had in promoting national security. It also demonstrated that without the use of intelligence in the promotion of national security, policy makers would be unable to make informed decisions in the face of a national (or international) crisis situation.

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[16] Office of the Director of National Intelligence, Statement for the Record, *The Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community*, by Daniel Coats, (2018), https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/2018-ATA---Unclassified-SSCI.pdf.

[17] Aimen Dean, Paul Cruickshank, and Tim Lister, *Nine Lives: My time as the West's top spy inside al-Qaeda* (Oneworld Publications, 2018).

International Security

As previously iterated, without an international community there would be no structure for states to interact in, which could lead to multiple outcomes. Therefore, maintaining this structure is critical to international security. This paper defines international security as "the preservation of the norms, rules, institutions, and value of international society" to distinguish international security from national security. [18] Looking at international security through Samuel Makinda's definition allows me to use a broad brush when looking into the impact of intelligence activities on international security, while limiting the operationalizing of international security to situations (or actors) that would compromise the foundational integrity of global society as a whole.[19] However, Bill McSweeney, in *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*, identifies an increased interconnectivity of the security interests of states and the difficulty to address one absent consideration for the security interests of others.[20] This therefore leads to the observation that states classify differing situations or actors as threats,[21] a conversation beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, I will focus on the

[18]Samuel Makinda, "Sovereignty and Global Security," *Sage Journals* 29, no. 3 (September 1998): 281-292.
[19] Alicia Sanders-Zakre, "Timeline of Syrian Chemical Weapons Activity, 2012-2018," Arms Control Association, last modified August 17, 2018, https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Timeline-of-Syrian-Chemical-Weapons-Activity; UNHCR, "Syria Emergency," Emergencies, accessed October 20, 2018, http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/syria-emergency.html.
[20] Bill McSweeny, *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[21] Ted Hopf, "The logic of habit in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 4 (December 2010): 539-561; Richard Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism," *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 225-286; and Kagan, "Power and Weakness," 2002.

ways in which intelligence agencies defend against military challenges and terrorism in the promotion of international security.[22]

One of the most innate threat to one's security is a physical threat, where, to a state in the international community, the most obvious is another's military. A primary example of intelligence agencies' role in protecting against military challenges is exemplified in the Cold War. Unlike WW2 and the Gulf War, the intelligence activities run by the CIA against the USSR were constant and diverse. The CIA used, as mentioned before, Oleg Penkovsky to gather intelligence on USSR missile capabilities;[23] the U-2 plane to gather imagery on USSR troop movements;[24] and numerous other HUMINT and SIGINT operations to gather extensive knowledge on USSR capabilities and movement. In assessing the USSR military forces, capabilities, and movements, the U.S. assisted the international community by protecting it from the USSR (and ultimately Communism). While this was an example of how intelligence agencies were successful in increasing international security, there are times in history that we have seen times were intelligence activity has led to the destabilization of the international community. Due to the inaccurate assessment of the CIA, regarding Iraq's weapon of mass destruction (WMD) capability, [25] the U.S. led a coalition effort to invade Iraq, spurring a war, and occupation lasting until 2011.[26] Both of these examples, one of successful intelligence operations, the other an

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[22] Vasantha Raghavan, "Challenges to Global Security," *Pakistan Horizon* 60, no. 3 (July 2007): 23-39; and Office of the Director of National Intelligence, *The Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community,* 2018.
[23] Polmar and Allen, *Spy Book: the Encyclopedia of espionage,* 1997.
[24] CIA, "Aerial Reconnaissance," 2012.
[25] CIA, "INTelligence: Human Intelligence."
[26] "The Iraq War," *Council on Foreign Relations,* accessed October 24, 2018, https://www.cfr.org/timeline/iraq-war.

intelligence blunder, demonstrate the profound implications that intelligence intervention has on international security.

Terrorism is a potent threat that is not constrained by borders and has shown to threaten both poor and wealthy stats alike. Looking at international terrorism, defined as violent acts that would violate the code of a state that are intended to influence civilians, government policy, or the conduct of the government primarily outside the jurisdiction of the U.S.,[27] demonstrates intelligence agencies' ability to respond to perceived crises. The 9/11 terrorist attacks were one of these crises that shook the U.S. and international community. It was a primary catalyst in increasing intelligence agencies' counterterrorism ability and drastic legislative and executive actions by the U.S., resulting in: the U.S. PATRIOT Act, which increased communication ability between intelligence organizations;[28] the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS)[29] and Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI),[30] fundamental components in defending, preventing, and responding to security threats; and an increase in funding for the U.S. intelligence community.[31] With its newly increased capabilities, the U.S. intelligence community has led the Global War on Terror, conducting missions such as arming Syrian rebels

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[27] Cornell Law School, "18 U.S. Code §- Definitions," *U.S. Code*, accessed October 27, 2018, https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2331.

[28] Department of Justice, "The USA PATRIOT Act: Preserving Life and Liberty," *Highlights of the USA PATRIOT Act,* accessed October 27, 2018, https://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/highlights.htm.

[29] Department of Homeland Security, "History," *About DHS*, accessed October 27, 2018, https://www.dhs.gov/history.

[30] Gordon Lederman, "Restructuring the Intelligence Community," *Hoover Press*, accessed October 27, 2018, http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/0817946624_65.pdf.

[31] Congressional Research Service, *Intelligence Community Spending: Trends and Issues*, by Micael DeVine, R44381 (2018).

to fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) (an international terrorist organization, denying them a safe haven for their organization.[32]

By looking at intelligence agencies' support for international security in countering military challenges and terrorism, I have demonstrated their role as a guarantee of the international community; their ability to address their customer's needs (policy makers); and their capacity to meet the world's security demands.

Human Intelligence Sources

The U.S., in their pursuit of intelligence, uses a variety of sources, such as SIGINT, HUMINT, geospatial intelligence (GEOINT), and open source collection. However, one primary type of source that has a profound impact on intelligence gathering is a HUMINT source. HUMINT is any information that comes from a human source (intelligence agents), such as a scientist or foreign intelligence agency employee (intelligence officer).[33] When looking at the previous operations and the role that intelligence, specifically HUMINT, has played in mitigating threats to national and international security it is vital to evaluate the specific function that it currently holds within intelligence organizations, as well as its future in intelligence communities. The three primary components of HUMINT addressed in the following section are the actors involved, the way in which HUMINT is moved from a source to an intelligence agency, and HUMINT's current and future roles within the intelligence community.

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[32] John Walcott, "Trump ends CIA arms support for anti-Assad Syria rebels: U.S. officials," *Reuters,* July 19, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-usa-syria/trump-ends-cia-arms-support-for-anti-assad-syria-rebels-u-s-officials-idUSKBN1A42KC.

[33] CIA, "INTelligence: Human Intelligence," 2013.

Actors

The first actor identified is known as an intelligence officer. These are individuals employed by an intelligence agency, such as the CIA, to assess, develop, recruit, and run potential assets.[34] The second critical actor within HUMINT operations is the asset or agent, terms which are used interchangeably throughout the remainder of this work. An asset is an individual that has been identified, targeted, and sought out by an intelligence officer because of their access to protected information and their potential vulnerability to defection (defined and discussed later in this chapter).[35] While intelligence officers are employees of a given intelligence agency, assets are affiliated with intelligence agencies because of their cooperation with the foreign intelligence agency throughout the process of their defection, yet, are not agency employees. Assets can include, but are not limited to, diplomats, scientists, and military personnel. Another potentially valuable asset to a country is an intelligence officer from a foreign agency. "Flipping" a foreign intelligence officer would give an intelligence agency a direct line to information within the foreign agency and critical information within the foreign government. While both actors are a vital component to HUMINT they vary in their roles, with the officer being a government employee collecting information from an asset; and the asset, an individual engaged in giving the information intended as a state secret for their country, to a foreign intelligence officer.

Current and Future Roles of HUMINT

As previously noted, there are a variety of non-HUMINT collection methods that intelligence agencies use to collect information on other countries, such as X number of missiles

[34] Jack Devine, *Good Hunting*, ed. Vernon Loeb (New York: Picador, 2014).
[35] Ibid.

have moved. Sources of collection are always limited and therefore, an intelligence agency needs to gather intelligence from multiple sources to be able to fully understand a situation, event, etc. Many of the sources can provide the "what" to an opposition's activities, however, fail to provide the "why". To fill in the gap of "why" for an opposition's activity, intelligence agencies turn to HUMINT.[36] Without HUMINT, a government would be able to know what, where, and when things are happening in another country but would lack a definitive understanding of the intention behind the given action. Another role that HUMINT actors play is in protecting the classified information they are privy to. An example can be found when looking to Aldrich Ames, a case that will be discussed extensively in Chapter 4. After being compromised, Ames' information led to the deaths of numerous intelligence agents run by the U.S. during the Cold War and post-Cold War era.[37] He failed to protect information entrusted to him by the CIA, regarding the identity of assets being run by the CIA, which lead to their trials and execution. For the reasons above, the CIA and the intelligence community closely protects their sources and methods when carrying out intelligence operations.

The use of HUMINT dates back to the 1940's during WW2 when the OSS (the CIA's predecessor) used HUMINT sources to gather information on Nazi positions to better support the D-Day invasion.[38] The Cold War is full of examples of the use of HUMINT sources for information collection and protection. Today, the use of HUMINT sources continues, such as

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[36] Ronald Kessler, *Inside the CIA* (New York, NY: Pocket Books, 1992).
[37] James Adams, *Sell Out* (Viking Adult, 1995).
[38] Central Intelligence Agency, "The Office of Strategic Services: America's First Intelligence Agency," library, last modified September 6, 2017, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/intelligence-history/oss.

their use to counter rival state; in the case of China, aid their pursuit and theft of trade secrets;[39] and in the defending against domestic and international terrorist threats.

HUMINT has proven invaluable in the past, however, technological advances, especially in collection efforts within the cyber domain and developments in imagery intelligence (IMINT) collection (including satellite imagery collection), call into question its continued use. While there is an abundance of individuals calling for its fall, there are numerous supports that recognize the continued utility of HUMINT. One main advocate of continued use of HUMINT collections operations is the Deputy Director of the CIA, David Cohen. In a speech at Cornell University, he discussed how the Director of the CIA, John Brennan (at the time), had proposed a two-prong approach to the future of intelligence activities, in which HUMINT collection would play an indispensable role because of the ability for it to explain what adversaries intended to do. While acknowledging the importance of SIGINT and other forms of collection in revealing what is happening in other countries, Cohen stresses that HUMINT sources can explain the "why" and the overall "what" of the activities of other countries, organizations, and networks.[40] A second example of support for the continued use of HUMINT collection is less evident, however, can be found in the hiring of positions for 35M (HUMINT collectors) in the U.S. Army, Operations Officers (HUMINT collectors in the CIA), and other HUMINT related jobs in both the private and public sectors. Cohen's speech, focusing on the future importance HUMINT operations, and the continual hiring push within the field of HUMINT demonstrates the prominent role that HUMINT will continue to play in the future.

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[39] Katie Benner, "Chinese Intelligence Officers Accused of Stealing Aerospace Secrets," *The New York Times*, October 30, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/30/us/politics/justice-department-china-espionage.html.

[40] Cohen, David, "The CIA of the Future," remarks delivered to LaFeber-Silbey Endowment in History (Lecture, Cornell University, September 17, 2015).

HUMINT has shown its importance in the ability to fill in "intelligence gaps" prior to the creation of the CIA, the U.S.'s first peace time intelligence agency. The growth, development, and role of HUMINT during the Cold War solidified it as being a premier source of intelligence and its current use in combating rival states, military challenges, and domestic and international terrorism make it an indispensable source of information. Finally, the continued prevalence of HUMINT operations to the intelligence community is evident in Deputy Director Cohen's speech focusing on the continued use of HUMINT to lead the CIA in the future and the abundance of HUMINT opportunities within the public and private sector.[41] These components make HUMINT a foundational component of intelligence communities' to study and understand to the fullest extent.

Study of Motivation for Defection

Building upon the actors outlined above, the following section continues to look at the process of HUMINT by defining defection and motivation, iterates the importance of studying these concepts, and the role they play in promoting national and international security.

Defection

The way in which assets give secret information from their country to a foreign intelligence service (FIS) varies from being approached by an intelligence officer and asked to work for a foreign intelligence agency, while others "walk-in" and volunteer their services to the other country. In either case, it can be said that the intelligence source is defecting to the country they are providing information to.

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[41] Ibid.

Previously, Phillip Lutscher has defined defection as switching sides from the regime to the rebellion,[42] while Shahzeen operationalized it as the absence of fulfilling an action.[43] Lutscher's definition stood for the choice to go against one's regime in favor of a rebellion, while Shahzeen Attari's definition meant that the individual deviated from the collective norm of making a donation. Both definitions were applicable in their respective studies, however, neither is applicable to the topic at hand. In the current study, the definition of defection will present itself as an ideal of sorts. One source that defines defection in terms of this ideological perspective is the Merriam-Webster dictionary. It defines defection as, "conscious abandonment of allegiance or duty."[44] This definition, although general, would suffice as the foundation for an operationalized concept of defection. It allows for the omission of "double agents", those who pretend to be willing to help their opposition but are really still working for their home agency, from being classified as defectors. It also allows for the omission of those who unknowingly present their opposition with information about their homeland. The above definition is broad enough to include those who have been coerced, influenced, or manipulated, and voluntarily give information to another country. Finally, the definition allows for the wide interpretation of duty or allegiance. One's duty could encompass the individual's duty to keep the information they have access to secret, while also allowing for the inclusion of those who engage in espionage to betray their country (and ultimately their allegiance to it). This definition allows for a sufficient scope of subjects, yet also limits the field to those who are aware of their actions (not necessarily

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[42] Phillip Lutscher, "The More Fragmented the Better? –The Impact of Armed Forces Structure on Defection during Nonviolent Popular Uprisings," *International Interactions* 42, no. 2 (Apr-June): 350-375.

[43] Shahzeen Attari, David Krantz, and Elke Weber, "Reasons for defection and cooperation in real-world social dilemmas," *Judgement & Decision Making* 9, no. 6 (Nov.): 316-334.

[44] Merriam-Webster. 2017. "Definition of Defection," last modified November 23, 217, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/defection.

the implications) and to those who are delivering information to another country with the intention of supplying valuable information (as opposed to a double agent who supplies sufficient evidence to support their cover). Therefore, the definition of defection used within the following chapters is, "the conscious abandonment of allegiance or duty by an individual operating within the intelligence community through the delivery of state secrets, or other acts of espionage, to another state".

With this operationalization of defection, the role that it plays in the intelligence process becomes evident. Without defection, there would be no HUMINT. Without HUMINT, there would be gaps within the information that a country has, the implications of which have already been discussed at length. From this understanding, not only is defection an integral part of the intelligence cycle, but it can be seen as a starting point for collection efforts. Therefore, if one were to better understand defection, it would lead to increased efficiency within the intelligence processes, increases in national and international security, and boosting a state's ability to more effectively prevent and detect defection.

Motivation

Defection, previously defined, can be seen as a key component to the producing intelligence and in promoting national and international security. However, few, as this paper later illustrates, gain access to classified information with the goal of defecting. Therefore, another pertinent question becomes what leads an individual to defect. While the definition of motivation and the greater implications of motivation will be discussed in a later chapter, an explanation of its importance requires attention. To fully support intelligence collection there needs to be a deep understanding of defection, yet the question of what leads an individual to defect is just as important. Therefore, it is imperative to study the motivation that leads to

defection, because like the intelligence gap that would exist without the utilization of HUMINT, there would be a gap in the understanding of defection if one failed to study its root causes, referred to here as motivation.

The previous chapter, broken into four sections, outlined the importance of what will be discussed in the following chapters. It demonstrated the vital role that intelligence plays in support of national and international security, discussing the various threats posed to a state and the international community and the ways intelligence agencies aid in combating them. It also focused on the characteristics, components of, and utility of HUMINT in pursuit of understanding the opposition. In all, the previous chapter has laid out two arguments: 1) Without the intelligence community, national and international security would be greatly compromised and 2) Failing to fully understand every component of HUMINT, including the role it plays in the intelligence community, the actors involved, motivation, and defection, would hinder a state's ability to effectively counter national and international threats. All of these components lead to the same conclusion that many other authors, theorists, and practitioners have come to; the study of motivation and defection are important.

CHAPTER 3

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON MOTIVATION

One key party, that is interested in understanding defection and its motivators, is the government that is being targeted by a FIS (virtually all governments within the international community). Their interest, in fully understanding the components of HUMINT and what leads to defection, stems from the need to prevent and (in worst case scenario) detect defection. The ability of a government to enact effective policies is contingent upon the expansiveness and validity of the information on a given subject. Therefore, to better understand whether current studies on motivation for defection within the intelligence community appropriately inform government policy, I delve into a variety of theoretical and practical applications of motivation studies. Within this chapter, I first present an analysis of previous theoretical literature around motivation within three fields of study: psychology, sociology, and social psychology, demonstrating the complexity and continued developments of motivational theory. The second section focuses on current efforts to studying motivation for defection within the intelligence community, attempting to utilize established theory. The chapter concludes with a breakdown of current efforts by the U.S. government to counter defection within the intelligence community by focusing on the pre-employment screening and selection process; opportunities, preventative action, and support services during employment that attempt to address identified factors that could potentially lead to defection; and post-employment services, separation, and preventative actions. Chapter 3 will not address the adequacy of the study of motivation for defection within the intelligence community, nor will it address its ability to inform current efforts in preventing defection. Focusing solely on understanding motivation from a theoretical perspective and in an

applied manner will allow me to effectively apply the information in the case studies, presented in Chapter 3.

Theoretical Approaches to Motivational Studies

While motivation has been of interest to intelligence agencies to leverage information to aid in their activities, the development of theories of motivation predates the use of HUMINT. There are three predominant scientific approaches to motivation that have been developed and continually expanded upon: psychological, sociological, and social psychological. The psychological approach sets motivational theory within the context of the internal processes of the brain, focusing primarily on the individual and their cognitive processes. In contrast to the psychological approach, the sociological perspective stems from Emile Durkheim's work on social norms to determine how society functions through interactions among individuals according to "norms".[45] The final theoretical approach, social psychological, takes aspects of both psychological and sociological motivational theory by proposing that an individual's motivation is determined by the interaction of their cognitive processes and societal factors.

Psychology

Psychology is the study of the relationship between the brain, the behavior of an individual, and their environment,[46] with a heavy focus on the individual and their behavior through cognitive functions. While psychology has its origins in the lab of Wilhelm Wundt, who focused on developing structuralism,[47] it has experienced developments in technology; the

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[45] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life,* ed. Mark Cladis, trans. Carol Cosman (Oxford University Press, 2008).
[46] APA, "Science of Psychology," 2018.
[47] Duane Schultz, *A History of Modern Psychology* (Cengage Learning, 2015).

incorporation of other scientific knowledge into their field of study; and paradigm shifts, that have contributed to its development and evolution.[48]

The idea of structuralism, emerging from the work of Wilhelm Wundt, established psychology as a science through attempts to map the structure of human consciousness.[49] These attempts were quickly overshadowed by motivation theory. William James' theory of fundamentalism quickly preceded Wundt and structuralism, proposing that humans act out of their innate behaviors such as crying, love, sympathy, and fear of dark (some of the list was later proven learned behavior) yet interact with and are shaped by daily behaviors called habits.[50] One difficulty that William's theory posed was the exclusion of the idea of human consciousness. Sigmund Freud soon became the predominant theorist with what has become known as psychoanalysis. This motivational theoretical perspective concluded that the id, ego, and super ego, through creating internal conflict, ultimately determine the motivation for one's actions.[51] Freud's theory built upon his predecessors by postulating that an individual's innate behaviors (id) were continually being moderated for socially acceptable behavior (ego), while both were placed within an internal moral framework (superego).

These previous practitioners were focused on the internal processes of an individual, at the time, were unable to be quantified. This led to John Watson to seek to control and manipulate

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[48] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press, 2012); Schultz, *A History of Modern Psychology*, 2015.
[49] Saul McLeod, "Wilhelm Wundt," Simple Psychology, last modified 2008, https://www.simplypsychology.org/wundt.html.
[50] William James, *The Principles of Psychology: Vol. 1,* (New York: Dover Publications, 1950).
[51] "Sigmund Freud," Institute of Psychoanalysis, accessed January 12, 2019, http://psychoanalysis.org.uk/our-authors-and-theorists/sigmund-freud.

behavior by studying it "objectively", giving birth to behaviorism.[52] To better understand motivation and what drives behavior, Watson focused on classical conditioning, observations aimed at eliciting a reaction of the respondent to a neutral stimulus. Watson's infamous "Little Albert", where he instilled fear in a child by showing him a white rat paired with a loud clang,[53] best exemplifies this concept. Adding to this work, B.F. Skinner introduced the ideas of positive and negative reinforcement. In his "Skinner Box" experiments, a rat was rewarded with food if it pressed a lever (positive reinforcement), while in a separate experiment, if the rat pressed a lever it would turn an administered shock off (negative reinforcement.[54] Behaviorists, in essence, studied animals' most foundational motivators, instincts, yet, their work also introduced a component of consciousness.

This component of consciousness is expanded upon by Albert Bandura, who developed Social Learning Theory. Bandura's prominent experiment involved children watching a video of adults acting out certain actions on a Bobo Doll, which the children, after viewing, would recreate aggression (or passivity) towards the doll when exposed to that variable.[55] His observations led to the proposition of a three-pronged system for learning and behavior. The first aspect was the stimuli, when it happened, how it was presented, and in what context it occurred. The more similar the subject identified with the situation in which the stimuli occurred, the more likely it was to be replicated. The second component is the feedback (reward, punishment, or

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[52] Paul Alkon, "Behaviourism and Linguistics: An Historical Note," *Language and Speech* 2, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1959): 37-51; and Henry Roediger, "What Happened to Behaviorism?" *Observer*, March 1, 2004, https://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/what-happened-to-behaviorism.
[53] Russell Powell, Nancy Digdon, Ben Harris, and Christopher Smithson, "Correcting the Record on Watson, Rayner, and Little Albert," *American Psychologist* 69, no. 6 (Sep. 2014): 600-611.
[54] Saul McLeod, "Skinner- Operant Conditioning," Simply Psychology, last modified 2018, https://www.simplypsychology.org/operant-conditioning.html.
[55] Albert Bandura, Dorothea Ross, Sheila Ross, "Transmission of Aggression Through Imitation of Aggressive Models," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 63, no. 1 (1961): 575-582.

other type of reinforcement) given for the learned action. If an action had more positive feedback, it was more likely to be replicated. And third, the internal cognitive functions of the individual would lend the individual to act in a particular manner (based off previous experiences, memories, etc.).[56] Bandura's proposal led to a blossoming in psychology's understanding of motivation and behavior; that an individual is driven to act because of an interaction of their mental processes that have been shaped by learned behaviors over time with the current stimuli presented to them at a given moment.

Bandura's theory, in conjunction with significant neuro-imaging and mapping technological advancements, [57] led to the development of the positivist approach. This approach seeks to make the lives of individuals better through developing an understanding of oneself.[58] One critical contribution by positivists, towards motivation, is a deeper understanding of mental disorders. In support of understanding these disorders, psychologists created the DSM (the tool used to determine whether a patient has a disorder and the severity of that disorder), which discusses the symptomology and effects of a given disorder. Identified disorders include disorders that can be mitigated by therapy and medication, such as general anxiety disorder, [59] to

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[56] Albert Bandura, *Social Learning Theory* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1977).
[57] Robert Thatcher, Reid Lyon, J. Ramsey, N. Krasnegor, *Developmental neuroimaging: Mapping the development of brain and behavior* (San Diego, Academic Press, 1996); and David Yaden, Johannes Eichstaedt, and John Medaglia, "The Future of Technology in Positive Psychology: Methodological Advances in the Science of Well-Being," *Frontiers in Psychology* 9, no.1 (2018).
[58] Michal Gelfin, Ada Zohar, and Lilac Lev-Ari, "Personality Change and Therapeutic Gain: Randomized Controlled Trial of a Positive Psychology Intervention," *International Journal of Psychology & Psychological Therapy* 18, no. 2 (June 2018): 193-205; Emily Holmes, Dyfrig Hughes, and Valerie Morrison, "Predicting Adherence to Medications Using Health Psychology Theories: A Systematic Review of 20 Years of Empirical Research," *Value in Health* 17, no. 8 (Dec. 2014): 863-876.
[59] American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistics Manual of Psychological Disorders, 5th Edition: DSM-5* (American Psychiatric Publishing, 2013), 222.

disorders that prevent an individual from living a "normal" life, such as schizophrenia.[60] In all, the contributions brought forward by positivists bring a psychological focus to motivational research by determining that an individual's mental state plays a critical role in determining an individual's behavioral pattern.

While the previous analysis focused on a few of psychology's contributions to literature on motivation, it is in no way a complete record of the contributions of the field. Yet, even in its brief account, this section has demonstrated that motivation is a complex issue to evaluate and determine the extent of what it is and what spurs it in an individual; that psychology has developed over time through the increased knowledge in the subject matter and advancements in technology; and that modern psychology continues to look into the question of, motivation through a clinical approach. Psychology has also demonstrated the value in developing theories as a framework to determine motivation. Without the established frameworks that psychologists developed and utilized, there would have been no cohesive understanding of the parameters of the drivers of motivation and thus, no advancement of knowledge.[61]

Sociology

According to the American Sociological Association (ASA), sociology is "the study of our behavior as social beings, covering everything from the analysis of short contacts between anonymous individuals on the street to the study of global social processes."[62] This definition of leads to an evaluation of the field to expand beyond what many define as academic sociologists. In looking at limiting the scope of research, the following section focuses on the development of

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[60] Rajiv Tandon et al., "Definition and description of schizophrenia in the DSM- 5," *Schizophrenia Research* 150, no. 1 (Oct. 2013): 3-10.
[61] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press: 2012).
[62] "What is Sociology?" American Sociological Associtation, accessed January 11, 2019, http://www.asanet.org/about-asa/asa-story/what-sociology.

sociological motivation theory stemming from Emile Durkheim's work by discussing the foundation of norms and values, the explanations for why individuals abide by norms and values, and the reasons why individuals would break from these norms (deviation).

Spurring from an interest in the shifting social atmosphere brought about by the Industrial Revolution and "crises engendered by war,"[63] Emile Durkheim sought to answer the question of, "What keeps society functioning?" In summation, Durkheim concluded that social cohesion, defined as individuals working together for a common cause, is fundamental to the preservation of society and that social cohesion is derived from a common sense of cultural norms, beliefs, and values, helping guide the actions of individuals (and communities).[64] In developing this idea, Durkheim assessed that norms are the values, decisions, and courses of action that a given culture, community, or group finds desirable or appropriate.[65] This characterization of norms and social cohesion has led sociologists to continually theorize why individuals follow (or not follow) these agreed upon norms.

In an attempt to better understand this essential question of "why people abide by norms?" Talcott Parsons and Edwards Shill developed the theory of internalization of social norms, which postulates that individuals act in accordance with established norms because they have identified with the norms presented by a community and accepted them as their personal

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[63] Dennis Peck and Clifton Bryant, *21st Century Sociology* (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2007), 1-19.
[64] Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*.
[65] Ladislau Bölön, Taranjeet Singh Bhatia, Saad Ahmad Khan, Jonathan Streater, and Stephen Fiore, "Toward a computational model of social norms," *PLos ONE* 13, no. 4 (April 2018): 1-26; and Gerry McKenzie, Francesca Moneti, Holly Shokya, and Elaine Denny, *What are social norms? How are they measured?* (University of California, San Diego: Center on Global Justice, July 2015), https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf.

values.[66] Joanne Smith and Deborah Terry pose a second explanation with social identity theory, determining that individual identifies with the community; that an individual acts according to the group's norms; and that they see themselves as an extension of that community, not a separate entity.[67] This evaluation is supported by the work of Roderick Kramer and Marilynn Brewer, which concluded that when individuals are presented with a situation in which they share in the repercussions of their decisions as a group, they are more inclined to align their decision making with those in the group.[68] David Lewis uses a third perspective in explaining the reason for individuals to follow a set of given norms. In his book, Lewis focuses on the idea of rational choice in explaining that individuals choose to follow the given norms because the benefits to following the norms are greater than if the individual was to deviate from the norm;[69] the idea that a choice is merely a logical cost-benefit assessment.

The theories presented above provided valuable insight into why an individual would abide by norms, however, fails to provide a framework to understand why an individual wouldn't abide by proscribed norms. This leads to the concept of deviance, or deviant behavior, defined as actions that diverge from the normative behaviors of a given group or community.[70] The fluidity

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[66] Talcott Parsons, and Edwards Shill, *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).
[67] Joanne Smith, and Deborah Terry, "Attitude-behaviour consistency: the role of group norms, attitude accessibility, and mode of behavioural decision-making," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 33, no. 5 (Sep. 2003): 591-609.
[68] Roderick Kramer, and Marilynn Brewer, "Effects of group identity on resource use in a simulated commons dilemma," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 45, no. 5 (June 1984): 1044-1057.
[69] David Lewis, *Convection: A Philosophical Study* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2002).
[70] Michael Hogg, "Uncertainty-Identity Theory," in *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology: Volume 2*, ed. Paul Van Lange, Arie Kruglanski, and E. Tory Higgins (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 62-80.

of deviance, like social norms, [71] has led to the proposition of three main theories: social strain theory, control theory, and labeling theory.[72] The first of these, social strain theory is one facet of Albert Cohen's work. Cohen theorizes that if an individual is unable to reach their goals (whether norm-abiding or not) through "norms", due to factors such as social status or available resources, it will result in "strain", results in them turning to deviant behavior to achieve their goals. [73] Yet, the likelihood that an individual will resort to deviant behavior is exacerbated by a disassociation with conventional institutions or active association with groups or individuals who reinforce their deviant behavior.[74]

A second theory posed is social control theory, which assess that the social bonds an individual develops with institutions and groups that support societal norms, lead to the reining in of individual's deviant behaviors.[75] The four bonds posed by this theory are: 1) Attachment, how loyal an individual is to the institutions; 2) Commitment, the amount that an individual values their participation in the institutions; 3) Involvement, the amount of time spent engaging in "conventional activities"; and 4) Belief, the degree to which one accepts the community's norms.[76] An absence of these social bonds leads an individual to engage in deviant behavior because people are amoral and would engage in deviant behavior, to achieve one's goal, if not

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[71] Duane Dobbert and Thomas Mackey, *Deviance: Theories of Behavior That Defy Social Norms* (Praeger, 2015).
[72] David Luckenbill and Kirk Miller, "Criminology," in *21st Century Sociology*, ed. Clifton Bryant and Dennis Peck (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2007), 390-398.
[73] Albert Cohen, "The Sociology of the Deviant Act: Anomie Theory and Beyond," *American Sociological Review* 30, no. 1 (Feb. 1965): 5-14.
[74] Robert Agnew, "Foundation for a General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency," *Criminology* 30, no. 1 (Feb. 1992): 47-87.
[75] Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1969).
[76] Stephen Barkan, *Sociology: Understanding and Changing the Social World* (University of Minnesota Libraries Publishing, 2016), chap. 7, https://open.lib.umn.edu/sociology/chapter/7-2-explaining-deviance/.

for the reining in of their behavior via these institutions and groups.[77] A final sociological theory is labeling theory. In this theory, when an individual acts in a deviant, or evil, manner, the label ascribed to their behavior is also ascribed to the individual by society. [78] The individual in turn to being labeled deviant by the community is treated as less than others, leading to the internalization of the labeling, and in turn perpetuating the deviant characteristics.[79] Labeling theory can be seen as a type of internalization theory that was expanded beyond the reason that an individual would abide by social norms. The individuals, labeled as deviant, internalize the values that the community has told them they have, instead of the values that the community itself holds.

The sociological theories of motivation discussed in this section proposed reason an individual would abide by proscribed norms and why an individual would deviate from these norms. The understanding of the vitality that social norms play in motivating an individual to act in a given pattern led theorists to determine that these societal pressures must be evaluated in conjunction with an individual's internal processes. This realization mirrors psychologists' understanding that societal factors contribute to motivation, both of which, ultimately led to the creation of the social psychological approach.

Social Psychology

The previous discussions on psychological and sociological theories of motivation, revealed dynamic scientific fields of study with unique contributions to literature on motivation

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[77] Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency*.
[78] Johannes Knutsson, *Labeling Theory*: *A Critical Examination,* Report no. 3 (Stockholm, Sweden: The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, 1977), https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/47664NCJRS.pdf.
[79] Ruth Triplett and Lindsey Upton, "Labeling Theory: Past, Present and Future," in *The Handbook of Criminology*, ed. Alex Piquero (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2016), 271-289.

studies. The emphasis of psychology is the study of the brain, its functions, and the interaction between the brain and an individual's behavior. Motivational theory in sociology, stemming from Emile Durkheim's work on social norms, postulated numerous reasons as to why an individual would act according to social norms or in a deviant manner. Yet, while both fields have unique contribution to the understanding of motivation, current motivational theory practitioners accept that one's internal processes and environment are critical in motivating an individual, leading to the emergence of social psychology. Social psychologists evaluate individuals' experience as a whole, including their cognitive functions, emotions, and perceptions alongside the study of group phenomena and social trends, to provide a deeper understanding of motivation and decision-making.[80] This field has thus produced theories that provide the most comprehensive understanding of motivation discussed and lays the foundation for much of those directing their research toward motivation for defection within the intelligence community, discussed in depth later.

Some of the most important contributions towards the understanding of motivation aided in the establishment of the field of social psychology; one such theorist was Kurt Lewis. In his proposition of Lewinian Field Theory,[81] he countered the idea of rational choice theory, by incorporating the variables which would lead an individual to act, evaluating the course of action that an individual could take, and in a perfect situation, be able to accurately predict the future

[80] Arie Kruglanski, Marina Chernikova, and Katarzyna Jasko, "Social Psychoogy Circa 2016: A field on steroids," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 47, no. 1 (Feb. 2017): 1-10; Arie Kruglanski and Wolfgang Stroebe, *Handbook of the History of Social Psychology* (New York, NY: Psychology Press, 2012), 3; and Floyd Allport, Social Psychology (Houghton Muffin, 1924).

[81] Ladd Wheeler, "Kurt Lewin," *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2, no. 4 (2008): 1638-1650.

courses of action that an individual would take based on the variables present.[82] This theorization is simplified in the "Lewinian Equation" of B= f(P,E), where behavior (B) is the result of both the person (P), including their neurological makeup, and their environment (E), to include the social institutions and their "life-space".[83] However, this theory was rebuffed by Abraham Maslow, proposing motivation was driven by a hierarchy of needs. In his theory, Maslow proposes that an individual's needs are established in a hierarchy format with five levels ranging from physiological needs, such as food and water, to psychological needs, such as self-actualization.[84] Both theories, while differing in structure, define the importance that an individual's internal processes and environment have in dictating one's actions.

The field of social psychology began to shift to a focus on the internalization of a given situation and the effects on one's actions, demonstrated in the work of Stanley Milgram and Philip Zimbardo. Milgram's experiment saw a scientist (an authority figure) require his participants to administer increasing levels of "shock" to an unseen participant.[85] At the conclusions of his observations, Milgram theorized that the majority of participants were willing to administer a lethal shock because: 1) The subject had internalized the sense of fulfilling one's duty to carrying out the task at hand to overcome the moral conflict, and/or 2) Their perception of a given stimuli (the authority figure's commands) dictated them to obey, allowing them to

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[82] Gregory Diamond, "Field Theory and Rational Choice: A Lewinian Approach to Modeling Motivation," *Journal of Social Issues* 48, no. 2 (1992): 79-94.
[83] Włodzisław Duch, "Kurt Lewin, psychological constructs and sources of brain cognitive activity" (Psychology Working Paper, Cornell University Library, November, 2017).
[84] Abraham Maslow and Herbert Langfield, "A Theory of Human Motivation," *Psychology Review* 50, no. 4 (1947): 370-396.
[85] Augustine Brannigan, "Stanley Milgram's Obedience Experiments: A Report Card 50 Years Later," *Society* 50, no. 6 (Dec. 2013): 623-628.

circumvent their own moral apprehension.[86] A second theorist that focused on authority and internalization is Philip Zimbardo. Zimbardo's most known Stanford Prison Experiment (SPE), led him to conclude that different situations apply different levels of pressure on an individual; that from these situational pressures, situational power is ascribed to particular groups, leading to the ambiguity of how they should act, what their roles are, and how the roles should be carried out; and individuals in a given role internalized that role, leading to them acting out their ascribed role, as they have conceived their respective role, regardless of who they were interacting with.[87] The work of both practitioners demonstrates the effect that a given environment or situation can have on an individual's perception and ultimately their actions.

Taking into account the various theories and observations of previous practitioners, Richard Ryan and Edward Deci established Self-Determination Theory (SDT). SDT characterized by focusing not just on *how* one pursues a goal, but ultimately on *what* goals one chooses to pursue.[88] This focus allowed Ryan and Deci identify two types of motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic. The first type, intrinsically motivated behavior, is an action that one engages in because of the inherent joy or interest they have in that behavior.[89] These types of motivated actions are seen as innate in humans, yet are either "facilitated" or "undermined" by external

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[86] Stanley Milgram, "Behavioral Study of Obedience," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67, no. 4 (1963): 371-378.
[87] Blass, *Obedience to Authority*, 204-207; Zimbardo, Haney, Banks, and Jaffee, *The Stanford Prison Experiment*, 1971.
[88] E. Tory Higgins, "Motivation science in social psychology: A tale of two histories," in *Handbook of the History of Social Psychology,* ed. Arie Kruglanski and Wolfgang Stroebe (New York, NY: Psychology Press, 2012), 199-218.
[89] Edward Deci and Richard Ryan, *Intrinsic Motivation and Self-Determination in Human Behavior* (Boston, MA: Springer, 1985), 11-40; and Maferima Touré-Tilley and Ayelet Fishbach, "How to Measure Motivation: A Guide for the Experimental Social Psychologist," *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 8, no. 7 (July 2014): 328-341.

influences.[90] The facilitation of intrinsically motivated actions occurs when an individual internalizes competence towards a given action, through "interpersonal events and structures" such as rewards and positive feedback, and that the action is of their own accord.[91] The undermining of these intrinsically motivated actions arise from checks imposed by social institutions including negative reinforcement, punishment, and mandated to engage in the behavior, leading to a decrease in the intrinsically motivated actions.[92]

The second type of motivation noted is external motivation. Externally motivated behavior or outcome-based behaviors are behaviors that are engaged in for the sole purpose of achieving a given result.[93] Extrinsic motivators are further broken down into three types: external regulation, introjected regulation, and integrated regulation. External regulation behaviors are engaged in solely to elicit an external reward, as demonstrated in operant conditioning experiments.[94] The second type, introjected regulation, encourages an individual to engage in behaviors that are the result of the desire to avoid guilt, induce pride, or raise self-esteem.[95] Finally, integrated regulation is an external motivation where an individual has internalized the regulatory behavior and aligned the new behavior with their norms.[96] This assessment of external motivators includes "traditional motivators", such as money and praise; it includes

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[90] Richard Ryan and Edward Deci, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations: Classic Definitions and New Directions," *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 25, no. 1 (2000): 54-67.
[91] David Markland, "Self-determination moderates the effects of perceived competence on intrinsic motivation," *Journal of Sports & Exercise Psychology* 21, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 351-362; and Ryan and Deci, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations," 58.
[92] Ryan and Deci, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations,"59.
[93] Touré-Tilley and Fishbach, "How to Measure Motivation: A Guide for the Experimental Social Psychologist," 329; and Ryan and Deci, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations," 60.
[94] Edward Deci and Richard Ryan, *Handbook of Self-Determination Research* (University of Rochester Press, 2004), 17.
[95] Ryan and Deci, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations," 62.
[96] Ibid.

"internal" rewards, such as self-esteem and pride; and it also demonstrates that an external motivator is able to "shift" to an intrinsic motivator if the actor begins to achieve satisfaction from the behavior in itself.

Throughout their work, social psychologists have: 1) Concluded that social pressures and influences can have a significant impact on the internal processes of an individual; 2) One's environment poses a variety of constraints and regulations on their motivations; and 3) The line between an internal and external motivator is fluid, influencing not just *how* an individual acts, but also *what* they act upon. However, the work of social psychologists was not developed in a vacuum, but was the result of the diligent work of psychologists and sociologists. The work of these three fields all provide a unique understanding of an individual's motivation through their implementation of theories either focusing on an individual's internal processes, social institutions, or a combination of both. This deeper understanding of motivation, through the analysis of these theories, provides various frameworks from which to understand the following discussion of research that focuses on the motivation for defection within the intelligence community.

Defection of Individuals Within the Intelligence Community

The work discussed in the previous section was the result of numerous years of scientific evolution and dedication to the theoretical development of motivation. The predominant field of study that emerged, social psychology, dictates that one must take into account both psychological and sociological factors when evaluating motivation. Taking into account this conclusion, those studying motivation for defection in the intelligence community have attempted to utilize these frameworks to support their research. The following discussion

presents the work of practitioners, that are applying motivational studies, to develop an understanding of the current research that informs U.S. government policy aimed at preventing and detecting defection within the intelligence community.

Since the development of HUMINT, enticing a potential agent to defect (recruitment) has been an undeniable goal of intelligence officers. This process is known as the Agent Recruitment Cycle (ARC) and is summed up in seven steps: 1) spotting, the involvement in groups or places that would expose the officer to potential agents; 2) assessing, identifying a potential target; 3) development, actual contact with the assessed target including levels of contact from infrequent to frequent; 4) pitching, or the actual proposal for the agent to work with the intelligence officer; 5) formalization, when given a "yes" the officer and agent outline the specifics of their relationship including expectations, compensations, and timeline; 6) producing, the actual collection of intelligence by the officer via the agent; and 7) termination, the conclusion of the relationship.[97]

To better assist intelligence officers in the assessing, development, and pitching of an agent, the intelligence community developed the acronym "MICE". This acronym, which stands for money, ideology, coercion (or compromise), and ego,[98] is designed to help intelligence officer's understand what part of an individual's motivation is leverageable to entice the agent to defect. In response to MICE, Randy Burkett sought to provide a more expansive tool that focuses on manipulating the perception of the asset. He proposes the use of RASCLS, which stands for reciprocation, authority, scarcity, commitment and consistency, liking, and social proof.[99] This

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[97] Olson, *Fair Play*, 237-239.
[98] Stanislav Levchenko, *On the Wrong Side: My Life in the KBG* (Brassey's, 1988).
[99] Randy Burkett, "An Alternative Framework for Agent Recruitment: From MICE to RASCLS," *Studies in Intelligence* 57, (March 2013): 7-17.

tool outlines behaviors and an "atmosphere" that officers should promote to entice an individual to defect, as opposed to attempting to understand the motivation of the asset. These tools, presented as attempts to understand motivation and perception, are intended to help an intelligence officer move an asset through the ARC.

As opposed to the development of MICE and RASCLS, the work of Lydia Wilson attempts to understand the underlying causes of defection through the application of reversal theory. She seeks to explain why an individual would shift from "a normal conforming life to rebelliousness through risk taking and espionage".[100] Reversal theory claims there are four pairs of "domains" supporting eight "motivational states", that individuals are continually fluctuating between these states, and that changes in these motivational state illicit different responses due to variation in given situations or state of mind.[101] Wilson concludes that, in the face of a "triggering event", an individual's inability to freely shift between motivational states and a lack of protective frames, or coping mechanisms, leads to defection.[102]

A second attempt to identifying the underlying causes of defection is posed by Dr. Ursula Wilder, a CIA psychologist. In taking a clinical psychological approach, she established a three-pronged approach to developing an understanding of motivation for defection, which include personality pathology; an "acute personal crisis resulting in intense duress" or a triggering event; and an ease of opportunity to conduct espionage.[103] Identified personality defects include a lack of understanding of the implications for an individual's actions, a sense that one is "above the

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[100] Lydia Wilson, "Reversal Theory: Understanding the Motivation Styles or Espionage," *International Journal of Intelligence Ethics* 3, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2012): 76-100.
[101] Michael, Apter, *Motivational styles in everyday life: A guide to reversal theory,* (Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association, 2001).
[102] Wilson, "Reversal Theory."
[103] Ursula Wilder, "The Psychology of Espionage," *Studies in Intelligence* 61, no. 2 (June 2017): 19-36.

rules", and impulsivity for risky behaviors.[104] Wilder discusses that these characteristics, exacerbated by an intense personal crisis leads to distress, which results in impulsive decisions.[105] The final aspect of Wilder's three-pronged approach is the ease of opportunity to conduct the espionage. Without going into depth on this aspect, Wilder's work illustrates the necessity for the defector to have frequent access to classified information and a "customer" to deliver the information to.[106] Supplementing her three-prong approach to what leads to defection, Wilder identifies that individuals with "healthy personalities" are able to operate within stressful conditions because of sufficient coping mechanisms; have relatively stable moods; exemplify moral behavior across a variety of situations; and have/experience a spectrum of emotions.[107]

Both Wilson and Wilder advanced the field of defection studies beyond the realm of "tools for intelligence officers" by seeking to understand the underlying causes of what leads to defection. Their conclusions identify that an individual's personality predisposition, coupled with a "triggering event", ultimately leads an individual to defect. Wilder took her proposition forward by proposing that people with healthy personalities don't defect, noting that they have an ability to experience an emotional range, yet, have the ability to emotionally navigate stressful situations.

A final approach, that attempts to incorporate an understanding of the motivator for defection and the underlying factors that led an individual to defect, is Katherine Herbig's big-data analytic approach. Using data from the Defense Personnel Security Research Center's

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Wilder, "Psychology of Espionage."
[107] Wilder, "Psychology of Espionage"; and Robert McCrea and Paul Costa Jr., "Personality, coping, and coping effectiveness in an adult sample," *Journal of Personality* 54, no. 2 (June 1986): 385-404.

(PERSEC) Espionage Database, an aggregation of unclassified information on defection cases, [108] Herbig evaluated variables ranging from motivation for defection to the organization and clearance level of the individual that defected.[109] In her analysis, she identified five primary trends. First, that the majority of defectors had foreign influences, such as foreign citizenship, family ties, or connections.[110] Second, only a limited number of defectors had drug, financial, or gambling problems.[111] Third, the most common motivators were: first, financial compensation; second, divided loyalties; and third, disgruntlement. Additionally, ingratiation, coercion, thrills, and recognition are strong motivators. [112] A final observation was that a triggering event, in conjunction with other motivators, was a primary factor leading to defection.[113] Herbig's approach took a macro-level approach to understanding motivator for defection, providing researchers vital trend analysis to be used in the future.

This section demonstrated that those studying motivation for defection within the intelligence community: cultivated an understanding of motivation by developing tools to aid intelligence officers in enticing defection; that an individual's environment, in conjunction with their internal processes, motivate an individual; and that there are a myriad of factors when identifying what motivates an individual to defect. While presenting numerous trends and

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[108] PERSEREC, *Espionage and Other Compromises of National Security* (Monterey, CA: Defense Personnel Security Research Center, November 2009), https://www.dhra.mil/Portals/52/Documents/perserec/espionage_cases_august2009.pdf.
[109] Katherine Herbig, *Changes in American Espionage: 1947-2007* (Monterey, CA: Defense Personnel Security Research Center, March 2008), https://fas.org/sgp/library/changes.pdf.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Katherine Herbig, *The Expanding Spectrum of Espionage by Americans, 1947-2015* (Seaside, CA: Defense Personnel Security Research Center, August 2017), https://fas.org/irp/eprint/spectrum.pdf.
[113] Herbig, *Changes in American Espionage*; and Katherine Herbig, *The Expanding Spectrum of Espionage by Americans, 1947-2015* (Seaside, CA: Defense Personnel Security Research Center, August 2017), https://fas.org/irp/eprint/spectrum.pdf.

observations, those looking at defection within the intelligence community failed to operate within a theoretical framework, which led to the observation that money, divergent loyalties, disgruntlement, psychological components, and triggering events all play a critical role in an individual's defection.

Current Methods in Preventing Defection

The U.S. government has identified a need to prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community in support of the advancement of national and international security. Taking their lead from those directing their research at motivation for defection, they have sought to prevent defection by countering five factors that have been assessed to lead an individual to defect: money, divergent loyalties, disgruntlement, psychological components, and triggering events. In its efforts to prevent and detect defection, the U.S. government utilizes a combination of pre-employment screenings; opportunities, preventative action, and services during employment; and post-employment services and measures.

Pre-Employment Screening

Unlike many other companies and organizations, accepting an offer to a position within the intelligence community is a substantial process, beginning with an individual passing a polygraph examination and obtaining a top-secret security clearance with access to sensitive compartmental information (TS/SCI with Poly).[114] The adjudication process (obtaining the aforementioned clearances) is overseen by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM). Using the following 13 categories as a framework, the OPM, evaluates the suitability of a candidate

[114] Central Intelligence Agency, "Application Process," Careers & Internships, last modified January 15, 2019, https://www.cia.gov/careers/application-process.

through a variety of investigative techniques: allegiance to the U.S., foreign influence, foreign preference, sexual behavior, personal conduct, financial considerations, alcohol consumption, drug involvement, psychological conditions, criminal conduct, handling protected information, outside activities, and use of information systems.[115]

The first step for an applicant begins prior to an individual's application for employment by limiting clearances to U.S. citizens only.[116] Once confirmed as a U.S. citizen, an applicant then submits an SF-86, an extensive questionnaire that covers various aspects of an individual's life and focuses on the 13 OPM categories.[117] The applicant's public records, such as taxes and credit record, are pulled and compared with the answers presented in the SF-86. If the information is corroborated, the individual is then brought in for an in-person interview with an investigator to reaffirm the information within the submitted form. The applicant then sits for a polygraph examination to further verify the information within the SF-86 and any other "questionable" activity that arose during the in-person investigation. The examination focuses on the accuracy of the individual's SF-86, the level of candor that the applicant has exhibited in regards to their application, foreign interests and loyalties, and personal choices, such as drug usage, ultimately determining if the individual has integrity or if there are existing vulnerabilities that could lead to defection.[118] Once concluded, these initial steps are followed by a series of additional investigative steps.

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[115] David Shedd, *Personnel Security Adjudicative Guidelines for Determining Eligibility for Access to Sensitive Compartmental Information and Other Controlled Access Program Information*, ICPG 704.2 (United States: Office of the Director of National Intelligence, 2008), https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICPG/ICPG_704_2.pdf.

[116] National Security Agency, "Employment Business Opportunities," About Us, accessed March 10, 2019, https://www.nsa.gov/about/faqs/employment-business-opportunities-faqs/.

[117] Defense Intelligence Agency, "New Employee Forms," Hiring Process, accessed March 19, 2019, http://www.dia.mil/Careers-and-Internships/Hiring-Process/#new-employee-forms.

[118] CIA, "Application Process."

The first is a psychological examination that evaluates an individual's past, present, and/or future drug usage, personality traits, or other aspects of their psychological profile that could lend to a predisposition to defection.[119] This is followed with a series of in-person interviews with the applicant's family, friends, and neighbors along with personal and professional references provided on the SF-86, in an attempt to ascertain any additional information that was not disclosed or contradicts previous findings in the process.[120] In concluding the investigative process, the application then moves to the OPM to evaluate the individual, taking a case-by-case approach to their decision. Lin their process, the OPM looks at the whole person and evaluates potential situations of "concern" by taking into account the severity of a situation, the duration of it, how long ago it was, the impact it had on the applicant, and the propensity for it to happen again.[121] If found favorable, the applicant is "successfully adjudicated" and granted their TS/SCI with Poly, thus able to access classification when they have a "need to know".

On average, the clearance process can take between 9-12 months, [122] however, can take as long as 24 months, depending on the extent of international contacts. The timeline and redundancies within this process demonstrate the lengths that the U.S. government goes through to prevent people with a predisposition for defection from accessing classified information.

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[119] Wilder, "Psychology of Espionage," 23-24.
[120] National Background Investigation Bureau, "Investigation Process Details," About Investigations, accessed March 8, 2019, https://nbib.opm.gov/about-us/about-investigations/investigation-process/.
[121] Shedd, *Personnel Security Adjudicative Guidelines*, 4-5.
[122] CIA, "Application Process."

Opportunities, Preventative Action, and Services During Employment

In denying individuals with a predisposition for defection from accessing classified information, the government is also denying them the ability to defect. However, the clearance process is the way to begin to do one's job within the intelligence community. Work within the intelligence community is characterized as secretive, fast-paced, and stressful, [123] all of which could lead to adverse responses, such as defection. Identifying that an individual could revert to maladaptive behavior within this novel atmosphere, [124] agencies within the intelligence community have developed a number of opportunities and support services, coupled with proactive preventative measures, aimed at mitigating potentially triggering events.

Some of the noteworthy programs and services provided through the various intelligence agencies include fiscal support through the paying off of student loans or tuition reimbursement;[125] family support services that provide family members a more in-depth understanding of the intelligence organization that the intelligence officer works for; opportunities to develop relationships within the intelligence organization through resource groups;[126] and opportunities for a flexible schedule and hours.[127] These programs are intended to lighten financial burdens, develop a sense of "alignment" with the agency their working with, and demonstrate that the U.S. government cares about the wellbeing of them and their families.

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[123] Central Intelligence Agency, "A Day in the Life of a CIA Operations Center Officer," News & Information, last modified July 10, 2014, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2014-featured-story-archive/a-day-in-the-life-of-a-cia-operations-center-officer.html.
[124] Wilson, "Reversal Theory."
[125] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Benefits," Working at the FBI, accessed March 11, 2019, https://www.fbijobs.gov/working-at-FBI/benefits.
[126] Central Intelligence Agency, "Benefits," Careers & Internships, last modified February 23, 2018, https://www.cia.gov/careers/benefits.html?tab=list-4.
[127] Defense Intelligence Agency, "Benefits," Working at DIA, accessed March 11, 2019, http://www.dia.mil/Careers-and-Internships/Working-at-DIA/#benefits.

While providing the above services, the government also takes a proactive approach to defection prevention and detection through the periodic reinvestigation of employees. Every five years, an individual with access to classified information must undergo a similar adjudication process as outlined above to reassert their suitability.[128] The nature of the intelligence community, working with classified information and foreign nationals, lends an individual to become increasingly more exposed to opportunities to "breach" any of the OPM's 13 categories. Reinvestigations allows the government to find and revoke access for those that are predisposed to defection or, in more a more dire situation, identify those who have already defected and have yet to be discovered.

Post-Employment Services and Actions

In the wake of a separation of employee from the intelligence community, the government must take steps to prevent the defection of an individual because while they may not currently have tangible access to classified information, they don't "forget" all the intelligence, sources, and methods that they worked with throughout their career. To address this constant threat posed by former employees, the government takes steps to assist in their reintegration, takes proactive measures to prevent defection, or takes retroactive measures to mitigate further damage. The services and courses of action are determined by the way or reason for separation.

Under amicable conditions, such as career change or retirement, services are aimed at providing the individual a way to make a living and social reintegration. For many working in the intelligence community, one primary difficulty of applying for another job is that much of their career and experience is classified. To help navigate is situation, the intelligence community has created the publication review boards (PRB) that audits potential resumes for

[128] Shedd, *Personnel Adjudicative Guidelines.*

classified material, which provides the intelligence officer an approved description of their activity, while protecting national secrets that may unintentionally be divulged.[129] This same service is also used to edit books for classified information that former officers intend to publish, an avenue to garner intelligence community buy-in, while informing the public about intelligence activities and creating a livelihood for themselves outside of the intelligence community. Ultimately, the services by the PRB are designed to prevent disgruntlement of former employees and elicit intelligence community buy-in in the future protection of classified information.

A second opportunity that has been further established to help intelligence officers reintegrate into society are membership organizations. Two primary examples are the Central Intelligence Retirees Association (CIRA) and SIGNA society. These organizations provide scholarships to the families of previous employees of the CIA, implement community building events such as luncheons, and the publication of newsletters and directories to help keep members informed and connected.[130] These organizations, while shrouded in secrecy, are designed to establish reintegration into society, outside of the intelligence community, while maintaining intimate connections with those that have lived similar lifestyles as themselves. These services demonstrate the government's efforts at helping former intelligence employees reintegrate into a life outside of the intelligence community, reestablish social bonds, and maintain already established bonds (with those of similar experiences).

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[129] Central Intelligence Agency, "Publications Review Board," About CIA, last modified November 1, 2018, https://www.cia.gov/about-cia/publications-review-board.
[130] "Central Intelligence Retirees Association," Homepage, accessed March 12, 2019, https://www.cira.org/; and "SIGNA Society," Homepage, accessed March 12, 2019, http://signa-member.org/default.aspx.

As demonstrated above, the government has sought to protect its classified information, from those that left amicably, through services and cooperation. However, when an employee leaves under less favorable conditions, such as firing or losing one's clearance, the government enacts measures to prevent the disclosure of state secrets. One initiative is that that U.S. government will pay for the former employee's psychological and therapeutic services for a determined period.[131] They are intended to help an individual cope with the separation, deal with any substance abuse issues, and with social reintegration. However, other times individuals are separated for more sever reasons and face criminal charges.[132] Many instances of the less-amicable separation of an intelligence employee is due to a serious breach of one (or multiple) of the OPM's 13 categories, and many times is also a legal violation and will be treated as such.

The intelligence community's first priority is to safeguard state secrets and will go to extraordinary lengths, such as firing and bringing criminal charges against former employees, to protect them. However, while fulfilling it' obligation to protect state secrets, the intelligence community concurrently seeks to help former employees reintegrate into civilian life and fosters social connections between former employees and the various communities they are a part of. In effect, the intelligence community is preventing defection through advancing the lives of their employees' post-employment, a win/win situation.[133]

The previous chapter evaluated how the fields of psychology and sociology developed theories to explain motivation. These theories were developed and refined through paradigm shifts and technological improvements, ultimately converging and leading to the field of social

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[131] David Hoffman, *The Billion Dollar Spy* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2016).
[132] Kessler, *Inside the CIA*.
[133] Bob Burg, *The Art of Persuasion* (PA: Tremendous Life Books and Sound Wisdom, 2011), 15.

psychology. Social psychologists established theoretical frameworks that postulate that motivation is determined by the interaction of environmental influences (external motivations) on an individual's psychological processes (internal motivations). In seeking to apply an understanding of external and internal motivators, practitioners turned to directing their research at motivation for defection within the intelligence community. Their work, focusing on defection, developed tools to aid intelligence officers in enticing defection; assessed that personality predispositions, in conjunction with a triggering event, lead to an individual's motivation to defect; and iterated that money, divergent loyalties, disgruntlement, psychological components, and triggering events play a critical role in determining motivation for defection.

Taking their understanding of defection from this body of literature, the U.S. government developed three main phases where they seek to prevent and detect defection: pre-employment screenings; opportunities, preventative action, and services during employment; and post-employment services and retroactive measures. The first phase seeks to prevent a predisposed individual from accessing classified information. The second, established programs to decrease stressors that could lead to defection while continuing to ensure that individuals are suitable to access classified information. Finally, the third phase is intended to assist in the reintegration of individuals that have left the intelligence community under amicable terms and suppress the ability to compromise national security of those that have left under less amicable conditions. In all, the government, in their effort to prevent and detect defection use carrot and stick measures that were developed in light of the information provided by those studying motivation for defection within the intelligence community.

CHAPTER 4

APPLICATION THROUGH CASE STUDIES

The following five cases of defection within the intelligence community demonstrate that those studying motivation for defection have failed to develop an extensive understanding of what truly motivates an individual to defect. This failure is evidenced by a reliance on the theoretical frameworks posed by psychologists, sociologists, and social psychologists to understand the motivation of a defector. The government's ability to establish effective policies to prevent and detect defection is also impaired by the failures of those conducting direct research on defection, is within the intelligence community. To present an effective analysis, I use the defector's past to identify any social or developmental factors; any diagnosed or sub-threshold psychological conditions or pathologies; available testimonies from the defectors themselves, their families, or past coworkers on declared motivation; and the variables surrounding the actual act of defection to include the kinds of information compromised or frequency of the behavior. Taking this approach will allow me to effectively present the successes and failures of previous attempts in explaining the defection; the successes and failures of current governmental efforts in combating defection within the intelligence community; and to discuss whether alternatives to the chosen approaches posed any more viable in being able to determine or prevent the defection of a given case.

While having various positives, this approach does have an apparent deficiency. When presenting the cases, I will not be applied a standardized methodology of theoretical analysis. Instead, I will be utilizing various theoretical and applied perspectives in attempts to best understand what motivates an individual. This technique stems, first, from the privilege of hindsight, allowing me to highlight specific points of an individual, recognized by previous

research, to determine motivation. This approach, however, more importantly, is systemic due to the lack of theoretical foundation posed by those studying motivation for defection within the intelligence community. Therefore, through an evaluation of five case studies, this section presents an understanding of the factors, as assessed by the previously presented research, that lead to defection. While creating an intimate understanding of the motivation for defection, my analysis demonstrates that the study of motivation for defection within the intelligence has failed to develop a theoretical, and thus an incomplete, understanding of what motivates an individual to defect, resulting in failures by the government to prevent and detect defection.

Case Selection

In evaluating the cases of John Walker, Robert Hanssen, Edward Howard, Ana Montes, and Aldrich Ames, I recognize my inability to evaluate all cases of defection within the intelligence community, and, in turn, have selected cases that provide an array of genders, intelligence agencies, motivating factors, and governmental actions/inactions. I also recognize that the presentation of only cases where an individual defected limits the understanding of factors that could have contributed to defection, however, my analysis is not focusing on what motivates an individual to defect within the intelligence community, but seeks to evaluate whether those that study motivation for defection within the intelligence community adequately inform government procedures to prevent and detect defection. Also absent from my analysis are those cases of defection that have not yet been discovered, or will not be discovered. Attending to these cases will not only be impossible by virtue of their continued undiscovered nature, however, as with the cases of those that work within the intelligence community, not the focus of my research.

The following defectors being investigated, presented in chronological order, all began their activities against the U.S. during the Cold War, a period characterized by a bipolar structure,[134] which limited the number of predominant international actors at the time to the U.S. and USSR, highlighting the ideological differences as a root of tensions between the two super powers.[135] The tensions and superpower competition between the U.S. and USSR produced 142 of 209 cases of espionage against the U.S. (available to the public) between 1949-1989.[136] Looking back to the most prolific time period of defection within the U.S. allows for a greater accumulation of information on the subjects being discussed as more information is declassified and made public. Another benefit is the vast number of intelligence agencies involved in the handling of classified information on a variety of topics to include South America, Russia, and China, providing diversity within the analysis via the agency that the individual worked for and the information they were privy to. In all, limiting the timeline provides the opportunity to analyze cases of defectors across a vast number of agencies and intelligence material; allows for accessed to increasingly more comprehensive information on the cases being discussed (because of declassification, etc.); and includes the development and evolution of the U.S. government's response and measures focusing on defection prevention.

John A. Walker Jr.

John Walker Jr. was a Naval communications officer who had access to secure SIGINT and cyphers and, post-retirement from the Navy, intelligence material his remaining "network"

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[134] Barry Buzan, "Polarity," in *Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Paul Williams and Matt McDonald (New York: Routledge, 2018), 147-160.
[135] Nigel Gould-Davies, "Rethinking the Role of Ideology In International Politics During the Cold War," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 90-109.
[136] Herbig, *The Expanding Spectrum of Espionage by Americans*, 2-10.

was able to acquire and deliver, selling much of this information to the USSR from 1968 until his arrest in 1985.[137] Walker's past and the way in which he carried out his defection activities support the previous conclusions that an individual's personality influences an individual's propensity to defect and that an individual's motivation can change over time. However, Walker's case also presents a critique to the previous research in that the factors leading to his defection blur the lines between internal and external motivators, all of which must be considered when evaluating his motivation for defection.

John Walker's childhood is best described as troubling, which consisted of being raised by an abusive alcoholic father; attending a Catholic school where he rebelled against the perceived harshness of the nuns, garnering poor grades; and engaging in criminal behavior such as burglary.[138] Walker also saw himself continually competing with his older brother, who achieved good grades, better social standing, and an overall social "success".[139] However, this brother would prove to be Walker's lifeline, where after one of Walker's arrests and convictions, his brother sought leniency from the judge, providing Walker the opportunity to join the Navy in October of 1955. Once in the Navy, Walker's deviant behavior seemed to stop, being recognized as "highly competent," quickly rising to the rank of warrant officer, and serving on a variety of vessels, establishing a successful career in communications working with classified cryptographic equipment.[140] Walker's life post-1955 would suggest that he left his life of crime

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[137] Scott Neuman, "John Walker Jr., Cold War Spy for Soviets, Dies at 77," *National Public Radio*, August 20, 2014, https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2014/08/30/344500428/john-walker-jr-cold-war-spy-for-soviets-dies-at-77.
[138] Jack Kneece, *Family Treason: The Walker Spy Case* (New York: Stein and Day, 1986), 35-44.
[139] Ibid.
[140] John Prados, "The John Walker Spy Ring and The U.S. Nay's Biggest Betrayal," *U.S. Naval Institute News,* September 2, 2014, https://news.usni.org/2014/09/02/john-walker-spy-ring-u-s-

and delinquency by establishing a reputation as a hard-working naval officer and relatively stable and happy personal life,[141] until October of 1967, when John Walker's successes would unravel when he walked into the USSR embassy and sold a piece of the classified cryptographic information he worked with, solidifying his defection from the U.S. to the USSR.[142]

Walker's later defection activities included more than delivering classified information he had direct access to by recruiting his brother Author Walker; son, Michael Walker; and friend Jerry Whitworth, along with numerous failed attempts to recruit his daughter, Laura Snyder.[143] This group of defectors became an established spy ring that fed classified information to Walker, who in turn sold it to the USSR. In 1985, after establishing a spy ring within the U.S. military; compromising secure naval communication channels that revealed critical information on missile defense systems, capabilities, and technology; and the compromising of U.S. sea defenses, operations, and capabilities, Walker was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to life in prison, where he died in 2014.[144]

John Walker's life, prior to his defection, was characterized by crime and delinquency until his employment with the Navy, where he excelled in his work; a lifestyle shift explained by sociologists. The primary proposition by sociologists, to support Walker's shift in his choices, is the impact of increased establishment of social ties. Within the literature on Walker's life, he is seen to have enjoyed his work within the smaller divisions, developing close ties with his

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navys-biggest-betrayal; Thomas H. Murray, *Espionage and the United States During the 20th Century* (Dorrance Publishing, 2014), 153-154.

[141] Kneece, *Family Treason*, 25.

[142] Prados, "John Walker Spy Ring."

[143] Howard Blum, *I Pledge Allegiance… The True Story of the Walkers: An American Spy Family* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

[144] Michael Sulick, *American Spies: Espionage Against the United States from the Cold War to the Present* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2013), 103-108.

coworkers and an appreciation for the work that he was doing,[145] leading Walker to either internalize the new group norms or to meet their norms to achieve a desired outcome. Walker's eventual defection calls into question the underlying nature in the shift of his actions, where Dr. Ursula Wilder's work presents another view of what led to Walker's behavioral shift.

Ursula Wilder's work focuses on personality and psychological disorders that influence an individual's actions, discussing various traits that impact an individual's defection, such as psychopathy. Wilder's identification of Walker's psychopathic tendencies provides insight into this pivotal shift in Walker's life. His psychopathic tendencies lend to the belief that the shift arose from the ability to leave a good first impression on his new group; the manipulation of the perspective of past acquaintances that he was now a "success" (specifically his older brother Author who was also in the Navy); and the development of personal relationships for exploitation later.[146] This shift from deviance to the "model sailor" is one glimpse into the early emergence of the effect that Walker's personality had on his motivation. Wilder's postulation that Walker has psychopathic personality traits draws upon his defection and his desire and ability to recruit additional agents to defect.[147]

One key component of Walker's defection was that he was a walk-in, meaning that he approached the USSR, as opposed to them coming to him. At the time of Walker's defection, he engaged in various behaviors, a time of perceived decline in importance to others, demonstrating a desire to elevate his status and image, an additional psychopathic characteristic. The first aspect of his life endorsing this claim is his declining role within the Navy. Walker was past the

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[145] Pete Earley, *Family of Spies: Inside the John Walker Spy Ring* (New York: Bantam Books, 1988), 47-45.
[146] Wilder, "Psychology of Espionage," 23.
[147] Wilder, "Psychology of Espionage," 24.

highlight of his early career, characterized by plank-ownership (being a founding member of a crew) and rapid advancements, which was quickly followed by an integration into larger crews, where his impact was less significant that before.[148] Another aspect of this time in Walker's life was his increasing infidelity to his wife. During the time leading to his defection, Walker had multiple affairs with other women; showing little remorse for the pain he caused his wife and their family,[149] further validating Wilder's claims that Walker exemplified psychopathic tendencies. In all, John Walker's personality led him to lead a life of change, from deviance to excellence (within the Navy), however, during his fall from prominence, sought out ways in his personal and professional life to again be seen as an important individual.

After Walker's initial defection in 1967, he continued to provide the USSR with classified material until his arrest in 1985. As noted above, his personality and desire for prominence led him to defect and his continued acts of espionage can be seen as a persistence of this motivation until 1974. Walker, still in the Navy, befriended a naval enlisted member named Jerry Whitworth, his first recruit for the USSR. With the recruit of another service member, Walker was now able to continue his production of secure information after his retirement from the navy in 1976.[150] However, this advancement in his defection activity, the persuasion and recruitment of other potential assets, demonstrates an evolution in his motivation. Walker's recruitment didn't stop at his friend, but went on to include his son, Michael, and older brother, Author. This evolution, while a continuation of various aspects of his personality to include an ability to manipulate other individuals and engaging in risky behavior, also encompasses the motivation to engage in the "game of espionage", for the game's sake. Walker's motivational

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[148] Prados, "John Walker Spy Ring."
[149] Earley, *Family of Spies,* 65-230.
[150] Kneece, *Family Treason*, 169-182.

transformation from a push, due to his personality, to a pull, of the "game of espionage", is evidenced by his claims of engaging in his defection out of excitement and his claims that the behavior that he engaged in changed the world for the better, offering the USSR an advantage from which to negotiate arms treaties with the U.S.[151] Walker's motivation for defection, stemming from his psychopathic personality tendencies, excitement for the game of espionage, in conjunction with his desire and ability to recruit other assets to aid him in his defection, led him to be one of the most successful defectors in U.S. history.

Much of the previous literature has helped inform John Walker's motivation for defection. One prominent viewpoint came from Ursula Wilder, who concluded that Walker's psychopathic personality's contribution to his defection. However, one aspect that is unexplainable by previous research on defection is the prevalent role that money continued to play in the defection. Katherine Herbig's research, supports this observation by concluding that money is the greatest motivating factor in leading to an individual's defection,[152] however, provides limited help beyond this observation. In supplanting the observations of Herbig, with the work of social psychologists, I have demonstrated that, for Walker, money plays a role beyond its physical purchasing ability.

Money for Walker, while an external motivator, was interpreted as a status symbol; the more the USSR paid him, the more valuable he was to them. A second role that money played was the role that money played in allowing him to manipulate others into helping him in his defection. Money became a facilitator for him to engage in the game of espionage. Therefore, while money played a role in his defection, theoretical interpretation demonstrates what kind of

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[151] Wilder, "Psychology of Espionage," 24; Sulick, *American Spies*, 93-107.
[152] Herbig, *Changes in American Espionage: 1947-2007*.

role it played. Therefore, while Walker's primary motivation for defection was his disordered personality, pushing him to seek out the game of espionage, exacerbated by his interpretation of money and its facilitating role.

Robert Hanssen

Over the course of his 35-year career at the FBI, Robert Hanssen served as a field agent, as a counter-intelligence agent, and an employee within the budget department. All of these positions gave him unfettered access to vital information about numerous cases, operatives working against the USSR (and after its collapse, Russia) and classified computer systems and encryption technology, all of which he sold to the USSR beginning in 1979 until his arrest in 2001.[153] Hanssen's case, like that of John Walker, is supported by the conclusion that an individual's personality predisposition plays a role in leading to an individual's defection and is mitigated, or exacerbated, by one's environment. The conclusions of the following case calls into question previous observations by sociologists that social bonds orients an individual's actions along lines of established norms and that the government, while taking many steps in preventing defection through the separation and compartmentalization of information, in conjunction with an inherent trust in the selection process to obtain individuals adverse to defection, encumbered the combatting of Robert Hanssen's defection.

Robert Hanssen, born in 1944 in Chicago, was raised in an authoritative household was head by his father, which exposed him to ample levels of physical and emotional abuse directed at teaching Hanssen how to "be a man".[154] This led Hanssen to socially isolate himself from his

[153] J. Scott Sanford and Bruce Arrigo, "Policing and Psychopathy: The Case of Robert Hanssen," *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice* 7, no. 3 (July 2007): 1-31.
[154] Ibid.

peers, like many other victims of child abuse.[155] His childhood behavior was also characterized by risky behavior, such as racing his car, yet also isolationist behavior, such as reading in a secluded environment.[156] Academically, Hanssen was an above average student who began dental school, yet ended dropped out to follow in his father's footsteps as a police officer. Once in the Chicago Police Department, Hanssen was assigned to a special division, C-5, that conducted internal investigations.[157] From here, he pursued employment within the intelligence community, failing to get picked up by the NSA in the early years of his career searching, eventually getting hired by the FBI in January of 1976.[158] Hanssen eventually found himself in the New York field office in the White-Collar division, quickly being reassigned to the Soviet intelligence division (Division Three), where he ended up spending a significant amount of time working with FBI computer systems, granting him significant access to classified information, all within the first years of his employment.[159] In 1979, three years after swearing allegiance to the FBI, Hanssen walked into an intermediary and delivered a message, under a false identity, that he had classified information that he wanted to sell to the USSR, the beginning of his defection.[160] His defection activity would continue until his arrest in 2001, after he had compromised "numerous" human sources, "dozens" of classified government documents and programs, and "numerous" FBI counterintelligence procedures,[161] along with a range other crimes outlined during his prosecution.

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[155] Felicity James, "Long Term Affects of Child Abuse: Lessons for Australian Pediatric Nurses," *Australian Journal of Advanced Nursing* 35, no. 4 (Summer 2018): 42-51.
[156] Elaine Shannon and Ann Blackman, *The Spy Next Door* (Little, Brown and Company, 2002).
[157] David Wise, *Spy* (New York: Random House Publishing, 2002), 9-18.
[158] Shannon and Blackman, *The Spy Next Door*, 51.
[159] Wise, *Spy*, 60-90.
[160] Ibid.
[161] *United States of America* v. *Robert Phillip Hanssen*, 18 U.S. 794 (2001).

In the case of Robert Hanssen, it is assessed that the abuse that Hanssen received from his father played a role in directing him in the future; however, the degree to which it impacted his decision-making continues to be debated. One critical aspect influenced by an individual's past is their personality. Hanssen exhibited numerous aspects of a psychopathic personality beginning at a young age. As a child, Hanssen isolated himself from his peers, engaged in risky behaviors to include racing and pursuing a career in law enforcement, and joining the intelligence community for the "excitement".[162] However, examples of his disordered personality continue to emerge throughout his life. The first is the constant reference to Hanssen's inflated sense of self-worth, by his colleagues and peers,[163] where in their critique of Hanssen, they saw him as an intelligent individual, yet found him difficult to work with because of his arrogance. A second example of his psychopathic tendencies is his belief that his intellectual prowess was being overlooked by the higher ups and that he was being underutilized.[164] Both of these personality characteristics, in hindsight, demonstrate a predisposed to defection.

During Hanssen's defection, his psychopathic personality is more evident than the period prior to his defection. Throughout the 22 years that he sold information to the USSR, Hanssen operated under a number of aliases, including Ramon Garcia and Jim Baker.[165] Working undercover provided Hanssen a sense of security allowing him to leverage USSR and impose his demands because of his position of power within the FBI and the sense of security that he created for himself by using aliases. A second aspect of his defection that demonstrates his

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[162] Richard Sale, *Traitors* (New York, New York: The Berkley Publishing Group, 2003), 255-283.
[163] Shannon and Blackman, *Spy Next Door*, 50-78.
[164] Sanford and Arrigo, "Policing and Psychopathy," 11.
[165] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Robert Hanssen," History, last modified February 20, 2001, https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/robert-hanssen.

psychopathic tendencies is evidenced in his lying to his wife when caught spying on the FBI. In 1980, Hanssen's wife caught him with classified information, confronted him about it, and upon finding out the truth was promised that Hanssen would not continue his arrangement with the USSR. Hanssen would renege on this promise and continue to work for the USSR (and Later Russia) for another 20 years.[166] Hanssen's pre-defection and post-defection tendencies indicate strong the role that his personality played in his decision-making. However, Hanssen's personality did not exist in a vacuum and was greatly influenced by his environment.

One primary environmental factor identified in the life of Hanssen was his work at the FBI. Prior to his defection, Hanssen quickly rose within the FBI, yet perceived that he was continually passed over for more prestigious counterintelligence (CI) operations, increasing both a sense of of disillusionment with his coworkers and resentment towards his superiors for failing to recognize his abilities.[167] Both of these factors provide an understand ding of the atmosphere that would lead Hanssen to defect, however, there is a lack of understanding as to what would lead to a jump from disgruntlement and lack of social bonds (to his workplace), to defecting.

One avenue that would provide insight is in the challenge that Hanssen's case poses to sociologists that claim that social bonds, to norm abiding institutions and one's community, lead an individual to follow established norms. In Hanssen's case, his established social bonds were to the church and Catholicism,[168] a religion characterized by strict adherence to a moral code, which included acts such as his refusal of alcohol.[169] Hanssen's proclaimed religiosity, in light of his psychopathic tendencies, would suggest that his involvement with the church was merely a

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[166] Lawrence Schiller, *Into the Mirror: The life of Master Spy Robert P. Hanssen* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 84-90.
[167] Schiller, *Into the Mirror*, 62-84.
[168] Schiller, *Into the Mirror*.
[169] Shannon and Blackman, *Spy Next Door*, 60-78.

façade. However, Eric O' Neil, the FBI agent credited with obtaining Hanssen's confession after months of uncover work getting to know Hanssen on an intimate level, along with most of those who interacted with Hanssen throughout his life, describe his religiosity as genuine.[170] Therefore, in understanding the role that social bonds play, previous work would suggest that Hanssen would abide by the norms set forth by the church, to include: upholding his oaths that he made to the FBI to protect the U.S.; the oath he took, upon being granted access to classified information, that he would not divulge it to unauthorized personnel; and, on a personal level, keep his promises that he made to his wife, on multiple occasions, that he would stop spying against the U.S.

In response to this puzzle, I pose that Hanssen was in fact following norm, albeit on a selective basis, to an all-consuming aspect of his life, his job. As previously iterated, much of the work of the intelligence community is shrouded in secrecy and, by virtue, lends to a loose interpretation of the truth. Therefore, I postulate that this dichotomy to two "masters" created an undeniable struggle within Hanssen, driving him to defect. The morals of the intelligence community, of lying and sometime more devious behavior, would seem counter to the culture of Catholicism, which is based in rejection of any and all sin. Therefore, I pose that the incorporation of Lydia Wilson's application of reversal theory is appropriate. In this theory, a given situation determines a motivational state of mind by "switching" between domains, however, in a crisis, an inability to switch leads to defection.[171] Therefore, I pose that Hanssen's inability to traverse the motivational states, from the desire of rejection of sin to the desire to

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[170] Eric O'Neil, "Gray Day: A Conversation with Eric O'Neil," interview by Dr. Vince Hogan, Spycast, International Spy Museum, March 26, 2019, audio, https://www.spymuseum.org/multimedia/spycast/episode/gray-day-a-conversation-with-eric-o-neill/; and Shannon and Blackman, *Spy Next Door*, 85.
[171] Wilson, "Reversal Theory."

engage in "intelligence activities"; in the face of the continual internal crisis of serving two masters; exacerbated by the stressful nature of his relatively new job within the intelligence community; coupled with his disgruntlement and disillusionment with his coworkers, led to his defection. This viewpoint, while seated in research, requires an incorporation of both theoretical research and defection studies to fully understand the implications and impact of Hanssen's situation on his decision to defect. Absent either would have left one with the understanding that the disgruntlement or disillusionment alone would have led to his defection.

Robert Hanssen's case also presents a strong example of current deficits within the government's efforts to prevent and detect defection. Near the end of Hanssen's career, there were multiple instances where his behavior raised "red flags", that his superiors overlooked or Hanssen was able to explain away without further investigation, allowing him to continue his activities for the USSR. One "flagrant" security breach was when Hanssen hack into the FBI system from a colleague's computer and retrieve "sensitive" information about USSR agents and operations. He would go on to report what he had done to his superiors, claiming he did so to demonstrate vulnerabilities in the system.[172] The FBI accepted this explanation without further inquiry. A second failure by the FBI to address security concerns is the failure to investigate Hanssen's abnormal financial activity, reported by his brother in-law.[173]

These examples of the failures of the FBI demonstrate two critical problems inherent in the government's prevention and detection of defection. The first is that the process of defection prevention relies heavily on an individual obtaining a security clearance. While unable to

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[172] U.S. Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, *A Review of the FBI's Performance in Deterring, Detecting, and Investigating the Espionage Activities of Robert Philip Hanssen* (2003), 8, https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/websites/usdojgov/www.usdoj.gov/oig/special/0308/final.pdf.

[173] Sanford and Arrigo, "Policing and Psychopathy," 22.

determine how many defectors the clearance process has stopped, it has created a sense of unquestionable trust in employees who have been successfully adjudicated. Trusting an employee is imperative in letting them fulfill their job, however, in situations, such as a security breach, that call into question an individual's trustworthiness need to be investigated as if an individual, while presumed innocent, has the potential to be guilty of the charges. This leads to the second problem inherent with the current system, that individuals within the intelligence community must abide by the rules and procedures set in place to be able to prevent defection. This second problem will continue to be an inevitable part of combatting defection, regardless of the procedures put forward, because of the innate ability of humans to choose to engage in a behavior or not.

Robert Hanssen, raised in a troubling household, sought out a career in the exciting field of the intelligence community, ultimately joining the FBI in 1976 where, three years later, he began a 22-year career of feeding classified intelligence to the USSR and Russia (RUS). The prevalence of his psychopathic tendencies influenced him to compromise national security. His case supports the previous conclusions by theorists and practitioners that personality plays an imperative role in an individual's decision to defect. Hanssen's case also demonstrated the paradoxical nature that social bonds create in an individual. On one hand, Hanssen had an inseparable devotion to the Catholic church, and on the other, an intense devotion to the game of espionage. I postulate that this internal conflict led to an inability to transition motivational states and ultimately, in conjunction with a sense of disgruntlement and disillusionment, to his defection. The study of Hanssen's case also reveals two problems within current U.S. efforts to combat defection; an overreliance on the security adjudication process, leading to unquestioned trust in an individual, and the necessity for employees within the intelligence community to

abide by security procedures without deviation. In all, Hanssen's case provides support for previous claims of the importance of personality in defection motivation and the utility of those focusing on motivation for defection; yet, reinforces that a theoretical lens was required to truly understand Hanssen's motivation to defect. The U.S. government's ability to prevent and detect Hanssen's defection demonstrates that the current process is inherently flawed because of the innate characteristics of a human to rely on the security clearance process and their ability to make independent decisions in enforcing security procedures.

Edward Howard

Prior to graduating from the CIA's training school at Camp Peary, known as The Farm, Edward Howard had previously been denied employment at the CIA, worked for the Peace Corps, and completed a degree from American University.[174] These experiences eventually led to his recruitment for the CIA's Soviet division, a prestigious posting for an intelligence officer. However, prior to deploying, Howard failed a polygraph examination and in June 1983, after less than three years of employment, was fired from the CIA.[175] While never deploying to a CIA field office, Howard was being groomed to deploy to the sensitive area and was privy to the classified information within the division. In late 1983 or fall of 1984 (the date of actual defection is unknown but speculated upon by Howard's testimony and analysis of his travel around the times of alleged defection activity),[176] after being fired from the CIA, Howard delivered classified information to the USSR, beginning his life as a defector. Howard's delivery compromised

[174] Trahair and Miller, *Encyclopedia of Cold War Espionage*, 219-220.
[175] David Wise, "The Spy Who Got Away," *New York Times*, November 2, 1986, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP90-00965R000807500008-7.pdf.
[176] Wise, "The Spy"; Sulick, *American Spies*, 115-135.

HUMINT sources the CIA had in place in the USSR and U.S. operating procedures when handling assets in denied areas of operation (such as the USSR).[177] Howard's defection was eventually discovered by the CIA, was the subject of an extensive FBI investigation, and fled the U.S., where he found refuge in the USSR until his death in 2002.

Unlike the previous cases in this paper, Edward Howard did not defect to the USSR until a year after being fired from the CIA, yet his personality indicated a predisposition to defection before his employment. The primary aspects of Howard's personality that were indicators were his drug usage and generally deviant behavior, including petty theft.[178] Both of these deviant behaviors are examples of risk-seeking behavior, a sub-threshold symptom of personality disorders. In the case of Howard, these predisposing personality characteristics, evaluated from the perspective of Lydia Wilson's reversal theory, provide a more comprehensive understanding of his defection.

Howard's failure of his polygraph examination, and subsequent firing from the CIA, is the second rejection Howard received from the CIA and is the triggering event that set his defection in motion. Howard was first rejected from the CIA when his application for employment was turned down, resulting in him employment with the Peace Corp and then USAID.[179] Instead of responding in similar fashion to his second rejection from the CIA, Howard deviated from conventional norms and defected to the USSR. Reversal theory sheds light on the divergent results by proposing, first, that Howard's response was different because they were different situations. Howard's first rejection was from seeking employment, while his

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[177] Sulick, *American* Spies, 115-125.
[178] Arthur Hulnick, *Keeping Us Safe: Secret Intelligence and Homeland Security* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2004), 106-108.
[179] Trahair and Miller, *Encyclopedia of Cold War Espionage*, 219-221.

firing was after he was already an employee with an invested interest. The second proposition postulates that since Howard was actively engaged in disordered behavior, excessive drinking, when he was fired it prevented him from utilizing effective coping mechanisms and prevented him from "switching" across motivational states, leaving him unable to manage with the stress of the personal crisis in a positive manner. To fill the void of the positive coping mechanisms, Howard turned to defection as a way to handle his firing from the CIA.[180] Therefore, the difference in Howard's reaction to the rejections is the result of the divergent circumstances leading to differing motivating factors and perceived options moving forward.

A second aspect of Edward Howard's motivation for defection to be evaluated are his overt claims of disgruntlement. After his firing, many of Howard's colleagues noted his anger towards the CIA for their "mistreatment" and perceived injustices towards him.[181] The claims of Howard are neither unfounded nor rare. Katherine Herbig's work concluded that a prominent reason for defection within the intelligence community is disgruntlement with the employing agency.[182] However, her observations, without additional input from other authors, would merely claim that disgruntlement was the primary reason for defection. This generalization leaves out the critical factor of Howard's ability to shift motivational states. Previously he was displeased by his rejection from the CIA, yet did not turn to destructive behavior. Therefore, the inclusion of the observations of reversal theory are imperative. Therefore, I assess that Howard defected to the USSR because of disgruntlement arising from his personal crisis of being rejected (fired) by

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[180] Y. Kuroda, et al., "Stress, Emotions, and Motivational States Among Traditional Dancers in New Zealand and Japan," *Psychological Reports* 20, no. 5 (2017): 895-913.
[181] Sulick, *American Spies*, 115-123.
[182] Herbig, *Changes in American Espionage*.

the CIA; set in the context of being an employee engaging in deviant behavior and drug usage and an inability to cope with the triggering event, and thus unable to shift motivational states.

Numerous aspects of Howard's case give rise to an assessment that the U.S. government made three major failures when handling the case of Howard. The first is the failure to detect Howard's predisposition for defection in the first place. The CIA identified him as an "ideal" candidate as an intelligence officer based on numerous qualifications such as having a graduate degree, knowing three languages, and the possession of a security clearance (issued by USAID).[183] While "on paper" Howard was an ideal candidate, his questioning in the security process, along with the questioning of his family, friends, and colleagues, demonstrated that he was not forthcoming with his past history, specifically drug usage and deviant behavior, an immediately disqualifying factor within the security clearance process. However, the failures of the CIA's ability to appropriately evaluate Howard's past allowed him to made it through the process, placing him in a role with access to classified information and operating procedures. Once learning of Howard's ineptitude of working for the CIA as an intelligence officer, through conducting a polygraph prior to his deployment to the USSR, they fired him, leading to their second failure in preventing his defection.

The second failure in preventing defection is the way in which the CIA handled the dismissal of Howard. Prior to his firing, the CIA gave Howard multiple chances to work through his drug usage, retake his polygraph tests, and sought to pay for his counseling services (months after his separation from the agency),[184] taking many precautions and steps to ensure a fair and

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[183] Edward Howard, *Safe House*: *The Compelling Memoires of the Only CIA Spy to Seek Asylum in Russia*, ed. Richard Coté (Bethesda, MD: National Press Books, 1995), 33-36.
[184] Milt Bearden and James Risen, *The Main Enemy: The Inside Story of the CIA's Final Showdown with the KGB* (New York: Random House Publishing, 2003), 82-87.

dignified exit process for Howard. However, Howard perceived their actions, and his firing as unjust and unwarranted. Regardless of the CIA's attempts to establish a relatively amicable separation moving forward, Howard's perception of the events, whether true or not, led to his disgruntlement with his former employer and ultimately his defection. The failure of the CIA in the dismissal of Howard is not in the appropriate measures they took in the separation process, but in their failure to take additional precautionary measure. One of the primary measures absent, in the immediate aftermath of the firing, was the need to evaluate Howard's mental status.[185] If the CIA were to have evaluated Howard's mental status, they would have determined that he was resentful and unable to cope with the separation, and would have either needed to detain him, limit his foreign contact, or keep watch over his activities for a set period, to better protect the classified information Howard left the CIA with. One tool at the disposal of the CIA that would have enabled them to keep tabs on Howard's activity, after he left the agency, is the use of the FBI and their domestic law enforcement capabilities.

The third failure the CIA made was the failure to inform the FBI about their separation with a potentially damaging former employee. If informed, the FBI would have been able to keep watch over Howard and his activities for a period of time to verify that he was not seeking to defect. A second advantage of notifying the FBI would have enabled them to build a stronger case against Howard early on, enabling them to arrest him. The CIA did not reveal their dismissal or concerns to the FBI about Howard until late 1985 upon receiving a USSR defector that pointed to Howard as having defected to the USSR.[186] Upon learning of his potential defection, the FBI launched an investigation into Howard, forcing them to gather a significant

[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.

amount of information on him in a short period of time to offset the last year and a half of inaction in working against him. Howard, a trained CIA intelligence officer, noticing the increased attention being paid to his activities tipped him off to the FBI investigation into his defection.[187] Upon recruiting his wife to evade further investigation and arrest, Howard planned an escape using the tradecraft the CIA had taught him, which allowed him to lose his FBI surveillance, leave the U.S., and make his way to the USSR, where he established himself as the first CIA officer to publicly defect to the USSR.[188]

Edward Howard's defection was the result of his predisposition to defect, a triggering event (his firing), encumbered by an inability to shift motivational states, and failures of the CIA to effectively combat defection. Without all of these components, Howard's defection would not have been possible. The initial failure in the investigation of Howard's past granted him access to classified information, which led to Howard's dismissal when administered another polygraph, revealing the inaccuracy of the previous investigation. The CIA then followed appropriate protocol, attempting to dismiss Howard on the most amicable terms possible. However, Howard, now armed with classified information and procedures and unable to cope with being rejected by the CIA a second time, defected to the USSR because of the perceived injustices he felt at the hands of the CIA. The CIA, failing to understand Howard's true motivational and mental state, did not inform additional agencies that could have helped keep tabs on Howard and his actions, which allowed Howard to engage in his defection without scrutiny. The failures of the CIA set in motion a chain of events that forced the FBI to expedite their investigation, tipping off a trained CIA officer, allowing Howard to flee the U.S. and seek asylum in the USSR.

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[187] Howard, *Safe House*, 51-75.
[188] Trahair and Miller, *Encyclopedia of Cold War Espionage*, 219-221.

Ana Montes

After the September 11th terrorist attacks, the FBI arrested a top level Cuban analyst working for the DIA, Ana Montes, as a result of an extensive investigation, revealing that she had spent her career at the DIA as a "mole" for Cuba.[189] After beginning a career at the DIA in 1985, Montes worked with Cuban intelligence officers as a defector, where in the following 16 years, until her arrest in September 2001, she became a leading expert within the U.S. intelligence community on Cuba, influenced the U.S. government's understanding of Cuba, and compromised multiple intelligence officers working undercover in Cuba.[190]

Ana Montes was sought out by the Cuban intelligence service (G2), while she was working for the Department of Justice (DOJ), where late 1984, she was recruited and defected to Cuba, prior to her employment with the DIA.[191] Like many of the past cases discussed, her predisposition is seated in her past experiences. Beginning in Montes's childhood, she was surrounded by diversity and views that opposed U.S. policy. She was born in Germany, to a U.S. army officer of Puerto Rican dissent, who was vocal of his support for Puerto Rican independence from the U.S.; was raised throughout the U.S., moving frequently because of her father's job; and frequently traveled to Puerto Rico to visit family. [192] The Montes children, Ana and her younger brother and sister, while members of a proud Puerto Rican family, were prevented from speaking Spanish at home, yet Ana Montes was still successful in developing her

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[189] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Ana Montes: Cuban Spy," History, accessed June 9, 2019, https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/ana-montes-cuba-spy.
[190] Thom Patterson, "The Most Dangerous U.S. Spy You've Never Heard of," *CNN*, August 8, 2018, https://www.cnn.com/2016/07/06/us/declassified-ana-montes-american-spy-profile/index.html.
[191] FBI, "Ana Montes."
[192] Scott Carmichael, *True Believer: Inside the Investigation and Capture of Ana Montes, Cuba's Spy Master* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2007), 50-61.

Spanish-speaking abilities, eventually attaining a near-native level. She would go on to attend the University of Virginia (UVA) for her undergraduate degree, studying abroad in Puerto Rico and Spain, where she began to speak publicly about her disagreements with U.S. policy towards Latin American countries (LAC).[193] After graduating from UVA, she was offered a job working for the DOJ, attained a Top Secret security clearance, and completed her master's program at John's Hopkins University, all while continuing to publicly disagree with U.S. policy towards LAC. Late 1984, while still working for the DOJ, Montes was pitched and recruited by the G2,[194] beginning her life as a defector. Shortly after her recruitment, Montes was accepted to the DIA as an analyst, where she would continue to work, and spy for the G2, for the next 16 years, until her arrest in 2001.[195]

Montes was identified as a potential defector by the G2 based on her public objections to U.S. LAC policy, however, her successful recruitment is explained by evaluating the interaction of Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory (SLT) with the tools of MICE and RASCLS, leading to the conclusion that she defected for ideological reasons. These observations are further supported by the variables surrounding her continued actions against the U.S. and DIA. The first component to Montes's defection is her predisposition, where, from a young age, she was encouraged to question and disagree with U.S. policy, the beginnings of her divergence with U.S. ideology. Bandura's SLT postulates that individuals learn by watching others and that the individual is likely to emulate the behavior when closely identifying with the mimicked individual.[196] In the case of Ana Montes, she learned at a young age from her father, a prominent

[193] Patterson, "The Most Dangerous U.S. Spy."
[194] Carmichael, *True Believer*, 50-61.
[195] FBI, "Ana Montes."
[196] Bandura, *Social Learning Theory*.

figure in her life, that questioning the policies of the U.S., specifically when dealing with LAC, is a viable option. This lesson was internalized, and eventually materialized in college, when she began to spend more time in foreign countries during study abroad semesters, and therefore, by the time she was pitched in late 1984, Montes had a firm belief in her ability to question U.S. policies. In identifying that Montes had multiple factors that would lead to a successful defector, the G2 used the tools of MICE and RASCLS to recruit her.

The "I" in MICE stands for ideology, one of the foundational motivating factors that lead an individual to act. While in this case, it is evident that Montes held ideological differences with U.S. LAC policy, it is not clear that these differences alone would have led to her defection. The fact that Montes did not seek out Cuban intelligence officials to defect is a critical variable in assessing Montes's willingness to defect on ideology alone. A second piece of evidence emerges during an interview with the counterintelligence (CI) agent, that investigated her for espionage activity later in her career, stating that disagreement does not necessarily mean disloyalty.[197] While she was engaged in defection at the time of the statement, it brings to light that her defection was the result of internal conflict between her ideological differences being influenced by something more. This leads to the conclusion that Montes's defection in unable to be explained solely by a predisposed to ideological differences, demonstrated by SLT, and the application of MICE.

The incomplete analysis of Montes's motivation for defection by SLT and MICE, requires the use of RASCLS to be used to lead to a full understanding of Montes's transition from ideological differences to defector. RASCLS focuses on the way in which an intelligence officer is able to manipulate an individual's potential predisposing factors, inciting them to

[197] Carmichael, *True Believer*, 20-22.

defect.[198] RASCLS involves establishing interpersonal relationships with assets and manipulating those relationships to play to the assets' predispositions. In the case of Ana Montes, the G2 would have connected with Montes on the mutual agreement that U.S. involvement in the LAC was hurting the countries; on Montes's strong Puerto Rican heritage; and the use of Spanish. Playing on these factors would have allowed the G2 to persuaded Montes that the best way to help the LAC, and subsequently "her people", was to defect to Cuba by spying on the U.S. from within the DIA.[199] Therefore, understanding Montes' defection requires the use of SLT, which demonstrates that she was predisposition to ideological differences, and that acceptance that G2 used RASCLS to emboldened and exploited Montes predisposition. Absent either of these factors would have potentially led Montes down a path of disagreement, not disloyalty.

At the hands of the G2, Ana Montes's ideological differences were manipulated, coercing her defection. However, the U.S. government failed to identify her as a defector until an investigation into her potential espionage activities beginning in 2000.[200] The DIA had multiple shortcomings when handling Ana Montes. The first was their insufficient in-processing procedures. Unlike the CIA and NSA, at the time, the DIA did not use polygraph examinations in determining the validity of an applicant's claims during the adjudication process.[201] Montes's security reviews consisted of in-person interviews and the interviewing of references, which were later demonstrated to be riddled with inaccuracies. Throughout follow-up security

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[198] Burkett, "Alternative Framework for Agent Recruitment."
[199] Deputy Inspector General for Intelligence, Office of the Inspector General of the Department of Defense, *Review of the Actions to Deter, Detect, and Investigate the Espionage Activities of Ana Belen Montes*, report no. 05-INTEL-18 (Virginia, 2005), https://media.defense.gov/2017/Oct/31/2001836123/-1/-1/1/05-INTEL-18.PDF.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.

interviews during her career, Montes revealed on multiple occasions that she had not been completely truthful during her pre-employment screening.[202] These continual revelations are the second failure of the DIA, overlooking Montes's lies by not further investigating the falsified information, permitting her to maintain access to classified information. This failure, previously discussed in the cases above is identified as the inherent flaw that human beings are given a choice to act or not on the established procedures.

A final flaw can be identified as the agency's reliance on their biases to understanding defection and the way it is conducted. The first component of the failure due to biases is evidenced in an investigation, early in Montes's career, in response to reports from a coworker that was concerned that she was a defector. Some of the accepted "red flags" that were absent, preventing the investigator from further investigating, were: 1) She was not a male; 2) Her financial situation remained unchanged; 3) She had already previously been investigated and granted a TS/SCI security clearance; and the "trump card", 4) She had passed a polygraph examination in the course of the CI investigation.[203] While these are all factors that have been variables in the defection of individuals in the past and must be taken into consideration when evaluating a case for the potential for defection, the DIA's overreliance on them hindered its ability to identify Montes as a defector earlier in her career. The second bias present was the DIA's understanding of the way that an individual collected classified information to be disseminated to their country of defection. All the previous cases analyzed saw the defector retrieve information from their work, remove it from the facility, and then transfer it to their handlers. Montes's defection proved unique because she never removed information from the

[202] Carmichael, *True Believer,* 154-155.
[203] Carmichael, *True Believer,* 40-41.

building, instead, she memorized it, upon returning home, typed it up on her home computer, and then transferred it to her handlers.[204] This process allowed her to disseminate classified information without ever having the possibility of being caught "red handed" until the point she would type it up in the privacy of her home, allowing her to remain undetected for 16 years.

A final conclusion to be drawn from the U.S. government's biases leads to a deeper conversation that is highlighted by the overall case of Ana Montes. Montes's defection was characterized by novelty, an ability to evade detection, and an ability to effectively live a double life, critical skills for an intelligence officer when operating against other countries, but incredibly dangerous to one's home country. This dilemma, posed by training highly skilled and intelligent individuals in the art of deception and manipulation, is an inseparable part of running an effective intelligence agency. Without trained and skilled individuals, an intelligence agency would be unable to collect information on targets, thus making them irrelevant; therefore, by creating a strong intelligence agency, with highly skilled and intelligence officers, a government is sowing the seeds to its own destruction.

By incorporating theoretical understanding of motivation and research directed at motivation for defection, an evaluation of the case of Ana Montes's defection demonstrated that she was raised to questions U.S. foreign policy at a young age, which predisposed her to ideological divergence with the U.S. Throughout her college years, becoming more vocal about these differences, broadcast her potential to defect along ideological lines to the G2. Montes' differences were soon exploited by the G2's use of RASCLS. However, the U.S. government failed to adequately prevent a potential defector from accessing classified information, and would later allow their biases to prevent them detecting the defection for 16 years. In concluding,

[204] FBI, "Ana Montes."

the case of Montes seeks to communicates a paradox that exists today in that it is necessary to train skilled and intelligent individuals to build and operate effective intelligence agencies, yet in doing so, states are sowing seeds that could lead to their own destruction, if those individuals are turned against the state.

Aldrich Ames

The final case investigated in this section is the case of Aldrich Ames, who many deem as the most damaging spy in U.S. history.[205] Ames, was a CIA officer working with the CIA's counter intelligence unit focusing on countering Soviet (and later Russian) intelligence operations, handling cases of Soviet defectors, and the running of operations that required critical insights into Soviet assets. In 1985, 18 years after he started his career at the CIA, Ames began spying on the U.S. for the USSR and Russia by selling the identity of numerous intelligence assets, which led to many of their executions; various CIA methods of tracking USSR agents and officers; and CIA methods for handling and communicating with assets inside the "denied" USSR.[206] Ames was eventually arrested in 1994, nine years after his defection began where he was paid $2.7 million by the USSR, the highest paid U.S. spy to date.[207]

The first aspect of the case of Aldrich Ames' defection that contributes to an understanding of his motivation for defection is the role that an individual's disordered personality traits play in predisposing an individual to defection. Past research and conclusions

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[205] Central Intelligence Agency, "To Catch a Spy: 25th Anniversary of the Aldrich Ames Arrest," News & Information, last modified February 19, 2019, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/blog/2019/to-catch-a-spy-25th-anniversary-of-the-aldrich-ames-arrest.html.
[206] Central Intelligence Agency, "DCI Statement on the Ames Damage Assessment," News & Information, last modified June 17, 2018, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/press-releases-statements/press-release-archive-1995/ps103195.html.
[207] Adams, *Sell Out*, 9, 82.

have already been discussed and evaluated in the previous cases of John Walker, Robert Hanssen, and Edward Howard, demonstrating this as defining component of motivation for defection. In the case of Ames, his predisposed personality is evident through the critical example of his deviant behavior. Ames, like all other CIA employees took a polygraph as a precondition for employment, where he confessed that he engaged in sub-threshold alcoholic behavior and criminal behavior to include stealing a bicycle.[208] While Ames' alcohol abuse demonstrated a prevalence of disordered personality traits, his breaking of policies and regulations built upon further highlight this initial observation. With the disordered behaviors of alcohol abuse and thievery admitted to the CIA, and overlooked to allow Ames to continue his employment, his deviant behavior became more significant throughout his career, taking the form of continued (and worsening) alcohol abuse and failing to abide by CIA policies and regulations. One of the various rules broken by Ames was the need to divulge a change in relationship status, especially when the relationship involves someone of foreign nationality.

Beginning in 1981, Ames and his wife, an American, began to experience marital troubles and were divorced in 1985.[209] However, during this time, Ames, working in Mexico, had recruited an agent, named Maridel Rosario Casas Dupuy (Rosario) and began an intimate relationship with her all without the CIA's knowledge, a security violation.[210] Approximately a month after his divorce and prolonged relationship with Rosario, Ames informed he CIA of his current intimate relationship status, marrying Rosario. With this security violation behind him, Ames would go on to violate another CIA policy by opening significant lines of credit that he

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[208] U.S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence, *An Assessment of the Aldrich H. Ames Espionage Case and Its Implications for U.S Intelligence*, November 1, 1994, Stock Number 052-070-069-77-5, https://fas.org/irp/congress/1994_rpt/ssci_ames.htm.
[209] Trahair and Miller, *Cold War Espionage*, 11-14.
[210] Ibid.

was unable to pay back.[211] The noted behavior of Ames' overextension of his credit line plays a significant role in his motivation on two fronts, financial incentives (in and of themselves) and divergent loyalties. The significance of the debt that Ames faced cannot be understated leads an individual to seek out a means to satisfy their financial requirements. In Aldrich Ames' case, his financial needs helped drive him to walk into the Soviet embassy in April of 1985 and defect to the USSR, by supplying them with the names of Soviet assets run by the CIA, in return for $50,000.[212] He would continue to be paid immense sums of money in the form of cash and credit, in an off-shore account, in return for his activities.

Ames' alcoholism, breaking of security protocol, and selling of U.S. secrets, while all deviant behavior, are on a spectrum of severity, with the selling of U.S. secrets being the most severe. This observation brings forward the question of, all other factors being constant, how can one's deviant behavior escalate from something relatively minor to an extreme of selling state secrets? One explanation is that Ames had an underdeveloped personality that prevented him from coping with the stresses of the financial hardships, leading him to turn to increasingly more deviant behavior, and ultimately defection. However, the viability of this proposition is called into question because of Ames' ability to effectively navigate situations of varying stress levels and difficult situations, exemplified throughout his first 18 years as a CIA intelligence officer.

A second explanation stems from Ames' divergent loyalties. Many authors claim that Ames' motives were strictly financial,[213] however, the motivation that led to his financial situation is a motivating factor in itself. Ames' deviant behavior of overextension of his credit lines and his compromised financial situation emerged from his divorce and relationship with

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[211] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Assessment of the Aldrich H. Ames Espionage Case.*
[212] Peter Maas, *Killer Spy* (New York: Warner Books, Inc., 1995), 52.
[213] Trahair and Miller, *Cold War Espionage*, 14; Adams, *Sell Out*, 183.

Rosario. The divorce from his ex-wife left him with a set of payments to satisfy; however, his divorce ran concurrently his expanding relationship with Rosario that had evolved to marriage, leading her to move to Washington D.C. with him and live the lavish lifestyle Ames had implied that he could provide her.[214] As a result of Rosario being misled about his true financial situation, Ames' was unable to keep up with the new expenses, and instead of limiting the expenses and divulging his true situation, Ames sought to appease Rosario by financially overextending himself. Following the cause of the financial problem that influenced Ames actions, demonstrates that the financial incentive to defect was in fact a symptom of divergent loyalties between his commitment to the CIA, and the national security of the U.S., and his desire to appease Rosario. Like the previous case of Ana Montes, Ames chose to remain loyal to a cause other than the U.S.

Unlike the case of Ana Montes, Ames' divergent loyalties are unable to fully explain Ames' motivation for defection. It fails to answer the questions of why he continued to engage in increasingly more deviant behavior, from alcoholism and minor thievery to defection; why he did not simply abandon his lies to Rosario in the face of increasingly more difficult financial situations, when he had proven himself to effectively navigate difficult situations before; and why he continued to engage in increasingly more dangerous espionage activities in support of the USSR. These questions, unable to be answered by previous conclusions of the motivating factors of financial motivation, personality disorders, or divergent loyalties, can be explained by an incorporation and application of the ideas of SOEC.

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[214] Maas, *Killer Spy*, 44-51.

SOEC is the analysis that the more that an individual has invested in a situation (or outcome) the more likely that individual is to increasingly invest in it.[215] This leads to the expectation that once an individual has ventured on a path, they will maintain that path, destructive or not, until something removes them from their course of action. In the case of Ames, an individual with a complex set of motivating behaviors, SOEC illuminates the gap between the deviant behavior, divergent loyalties, and his defection. Beginning with his minor thievery Ames had set himself up to continue his deviant behavior by failing to fully disclosing the nature of his alcohol abuse on a polygraph to the CIA. He speculated that if he had revealed the full extent of his behavior, he would be denied employment, and therefore lied. The second scenario that SOEC explains the continued decent of Ames involves his time in Mexico. Once in Mexico, Ames began "running" and developed an intimate relationship with Rosario, the agent. This relationship began under the pretexts of Ames' lavish lifestyle he was able to provide an informant, however, once their intimate relationship began, Ames was unable to reveal his true financial status. Once married, an inability to deviate from the path of lies that he had chosen to keep telling Rosario, led him to seek out lines of credit that he was unable to maintain. Therefore, at this point, SOEC helps explain Ames' descent from a mediocre employee with deviant tendencies,[216] to an individual that was on an increasingly exacerbated path between the truth and deviance. This path led Ames to have a stake in keeping Rosario financially appeased, yet without money. He simultaneously became more deviant throughout his career as a CIA

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[215] Asgeir E. Karlsson, Niklas Karlsson, and Tommy Garling, "Weighing the past and the future in decision making," *European Journal of Cognitive Psychology* 17, no. 4 (2005): 561-575; Cindy Dietrich, "Decision Making: Factors that Influence Decision Making, Heuristics Used, and Decision Outcomes," *Inquires Journal of Social Sciences, Arts, and Humanities* 2, no. 2 (2010): 1-3.

[216] Maas, *Killer Spy,* 37-39.

officer, from minor thievery, to drug abuse, to breaking security protocol. His early career saw his descent on an individual level, personal level (at home), and professional level (with the CIA). This continual path of deviance and lies, coupled with an innate instinct to obtain the basic necessities of life (he would fail to have if he wasn't able to pay back his overextended credit), led Ames to assume that the only logical next step was defection.

While SOEC helps explain the interconnectivity between the increasingly deviant behaviors, the role that divergent loyalty (between Rosario and the CIA), and his financial struggles contributed to his defection, SOEC alongside the understanding of current legislation and policy provides a viable explanation for his continued defection. As soon as Ames offered information to the USSR, he committed a felony. U.S. law deems it illegal to pass any kind of classified information to "unauthorized persons", resulting in a harsh prison sentence if convicted.[217] While the U.S. judicial system allows prosecution discrepancy when bring a case forward, there is little that an individual could do to avoid a prison term, and thus begins another cycle of SOEC. At the point of his defection, Ames was presented with three primary options: 1) Stop spying and continue with his life as normal; 2) Tell the CIA, take the punishment, and hope for leniency; or 3) Continue to spy. Absent additional variables, the first two options seem viable options. However, three primary considerations must be taken into account. The first is that Ames has already begun down a path of deviance, lies, and loyalty to Rosario. A confession would lead to the loss of his job, freedom, and his family, making this an unviable option. A second consideration that must be taken into account is the nature of information that Ames gave the Soviets. He delivered the names of agents that the CIA was running in the USSR. This

[217] Cornell Law School, "18 U.S. Code § 798. Disclosure of classified information," Legal Information Institute, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/798.

information, extremely valuable to the USSR and detrimental to CIA operations, would prove fatal to many of those on the list.[218] The execution of the individuals on the list would pose a problem to Ames, because it would raise flags with the CIA, alerting to a potential compromise within the agency. The internal hunt for a mole would make going about life "as usual" and forgetting about the defection activity unlikely.

The final consideration that must be taken into account when determining whether Ames would continue his defection activity or not is that fact that he had already sold secrets, and therefore individuals within the USSR would be able to oust him as a spy. This is a critical component on two fronts. First, if he stopped selling secrets, the USSR would have no incentive to protect his identity from his initial compromise of the CIA. The second is that, if Ames' continued to spy for the USSR he would be able to point the USSR in the direction of individuals that had defected to the U.S. (from the USSR) that could lead to the uncovering of his defection. The combination of the three considerations when choosing his next steps would have led Ames to choose the option to keep spying for the USSR, and thus fulfill the need to continue to invest more heavily into his defection.

This thorough investigation of the defection of Aldrich Ames leads to the conclusion that his defection was the result of divergent loyalties, that resulted in his financial overextension, and subsequent need for financial assistance. Aiding in furthering an understanding of Ames' actions is the theoretical framework SOEC, which provides valuable insight into the way in which his actions deteriorated from minor deviant behavior to something as extreme as defection. SOEC also helps explain why, once Ames was able to pacify the financial motivating factor, he would continue his defection. In all, an analysis of the case of Ames, while supporting

[218] FBI, "Aldrich Ames."

the observations of those focusing their research on motivation for defection, is incomplete without the incorporation of a theoretical framework from which to understand his financial need and his defection activity.

The previous chapter analyzed the cases of defection of John Walker, Robert Hanssen, Edward Howard, Ana Montes, and Aldrich Ames to demonstrate the successes and failures of previous research in determining motivation for defection among individual in the intelligence community; the successes and failures of current governmental efforts in combating defection within the intelligence community; and to discuss whether alternatives to the chosen approaches posed any more viable in being able to determine or prevent the defection of a given case.

While a complete analysis will be presented in Chapter 5, there are a few observations worth noting in the conclusion of this chapter. First, the predominant motivating factors that led to defection, in the identified cases were: an individual's predisposition to react negatively to a stressful situation, an inclination to engage in deviant behavior, or sub-threshold personality defects; divergent loyalties, whether to another country or separate cause; discontent with the agency they were working for; and the inclusion of financial incentives. Secondly, observations from those focusing on motivation for defection within the intelligence community were able to effectively "classify" an individual's motivation into a general category, however, the use of a theoretical framework was required to truly understanding what motivated an individual to defect. Additionally, as a result of defection research's reliance on motivational theory posed by psychologists, sociologists, and social psychologists, understanding the motivation of an individual required hindsight and applying of a theory to the defection, as opposed to attempting to explain a defection via theory. In all, these critiques, expanded upon later, highlight the difficulty that the U.S. government has in developing policies to prevent and detect defection,

when those studying defection are unable to assess motivation without hindsight or a theoretical evaluation of what motivates an individual to defect.

CHAPTER 5

A CRITIQUE, THE INEVITABLE, AND A WAY FORWARD

In this chapter, I bring together the previously presented research, in light of applying it to five cases of defection. I first pose a critique of the current approaches taken towards studying motivation for defection within the intelligence community. Secondly, this chapter focuses on the ways theoretical and directed research on motivation have influenced and directed the government's ability to prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community. Thirdly, I highlight the numerous factors that will continue to influence assessing an individual's motivation to defect and the ability to combat that defection. Finally, this chapter concludes with an assessment of how to move forward to better evaluate motivation for defection within the intelligence community, which would provide a more effective strategy to combat defection, and propositions for the future direction of motivational studies directed at analyzing defection within the intelligence community.

The Study of Motivation for Defection Within the Intelligence Community

The previous work on motivation, discussed at length in Chapter 3, began with an analysis of the theoretical development on the factors surround motivation. The study of the reason for an individual's actions stemmed from a curiosity to better understand the "why", which eventually saw the fields of psychological and sociological evolve concurrently. Psychologists' view on motivation continually changed and expanded based on ever-developing technological advances and understandings of the workings of an individual and their cognitive processes. Sociologists adapted their theories based on the confirmation or refutation of their previous conclusions, the changing dynamics in society, and the differences in social or cultural

values. Eventually both fields have acknowledged the importance that both, the cognitive processes of an individual and the environmental conditions, play in defining an individual's motivation, leading to the predominance of social psychology as the forerunner in motivational studies.

This theoretical foundation, laid out by social psychologists, dictated to those who have focused on the question of, "What motivates an individual, within the intelligence community, to defect?", the role that internal and external processes play in motivating an individual. In response, their research, focusing on motivation for defection within the intelligence community, effectively established generalized categories of motivators that lead to defection, such as: personality disposition, money, divergent loyalties, and disgruntlement. However, while their research proved to be an effective tool to leverage an individual's potential predisposition and help explain an individual's motivation, it was ineffective in demonstrating the underlying causes and motivators of their defection. This observation leads to two primary critiques.

The first critique is that the simplification of motivation to financially motivated, divergent loyalties, personality predisposition, or disgruntlement, leads to an inability to truly understand an individual's motivation to defect. The categories mentioned above are broad and can include a number of underlying motivations that ultimately lead to the conclusion of the all-encompassing "category" provided by the tool. Multiple examples of underlying motivations were demonstrated in Chapter 4, and include, an individual seeking money to fulfill financial obligations, such as paying off a debt; increasing one's social status among their friends, family,

and or peers;[219] or the perception that getting paid was a sign of respect.[220] The examples provided in Chapter 4, and briefly recapped here, demonstrate the variety of factors that could lead an individual to be categorized as having a financially motivated defection, highlighting how the simplification of an individual's motivation to one word, such as money, is inadequate to describe the complexity of motivational factors that compel an individual to act.

A second, and more profound, critique is the lack of theoretical development taking place within the evolution of the study of motivation for defection. This is evident when looking to the evolution of the study of motivation put forward by the fields of psychology, sociology, and social psychology compared to the evolution of research directed at defection. The developments within the theoretical fields were brought about by conflicting ideas that had to demonstrate that previous observations were inadequate and that the new perspective more accurately described motivation, following a process outlined in Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.*[221] While the directed research for the study of motivation for defection within the intelligence community is informed by the theoretical developments of social psychology, it fails to follow a similar evolutionary tradgectory. This failure to evolve has left the directed research absent a theoretical foundation, evidenced in Katherine Herbig's big-data analytical approach, which provides the reader with a vast amount of information merely communicates the ways in which an individual's defection is classified (money, ideology, etc.).[222] It does not lend to

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[219] Hee Jin Kim, "Diverging Influence of Money Priming on Choice: The Moderating Effect of Consumption Situation," *Psychological Reports*, 120, no. 4 (Aug. 2017): 695-706.
[220] Anais Thibault Landry et al., "Why individuals want money is what matters: Using self-determination theory to explain the differential relationship between motives for making money and employee psychological health," *Motivation and Emotion*, 40, no. 2 (April 2016): 226-242.
[221] Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.*
[222] Herbig, *Changes in American Espionage*.

predictions of why the selected individuals that defected did, while others, who were confronted with similar situations, did not.

This lack of theoretical development is also seen in the proposal of the tool of MICE. When looking to this tool, practitioners identify that these are five common themes that can potentially lead an individual to defect. However, it is unable to determine an individual's true motivation, as previously seen in the example of financial motivation. This lends to an inability to effectively determine if the motivation being leveraged by the intelligence officer is actually acting upon an individual's motivation to defect or a "symptom" of an individual's true motivation. A final component to emphasize the lack of theoretical development in the directed research is Allen Dulles describing the running of spies as an art.[223] Therefore the use of the conclusions drawn by researchers is a means to help the "artists" (intelligence officer) complete their job of recruiting agents. This statement by Dulles shows that those looking into motivation for defection within the intelligence community are not seeking answers to an individual's motivation to defect, but are seeking to provide intelligence officers with the most streamlined knowledge to most effectively convince an individual to defect.

By tailoring their work to aid in the recruitment of agents, and not for the deeper understanding of the motivation of the defector, those studying motivation for defection within the intelligence community have reduced the complex phenomena of motivation to simplistic categories that were only able to provide an analysis of general symptoms of an individual's true motivations. These categories failed to advance an understanding of motivation when applied in Chapter 4, necessitating the use of various theoretical perspectives to further understand the case at hand. Ultimately, the conclusions of this section lead to the assessment that those currently

[223] Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (Lyons Press, 2016).

studying motivation of defection are not looking at motivation for defection, but at how to provide intelligence officers a framework and basic outline of potential predispositions of an individual that could be leveraged to coerce defection. Frameworks and tools, that as previously demonstrated, are ineffective in determining an individual's true motivation, even with the benefit of hindsight.

Research Guiding Governmental Efforts to Prevent and Detect Defection

One key role of the intelligence community, continually noted throughout the work, is the protection of national and international security, as well as the protection of one's own secrets. To protect the U.S.' information from being exploited via intelligence officers from foreign countries, the U.S. government has implemented a number of programs and procedures to prevent and detect defection by acting across the 3 phases of an individual's career: pre-employment, employment, and post-employment. While the true effectiveness of these procedures will never be truly known because of the classification of the information and the overall inability to know how many people have actually defected, unclassified evidence provide insight that at least some of the steps taken by the U.S. government have been effective in mitigating defection.

One area where U.S. government employs a significant amount of resources to counter defection is in their pre-employment procedure. The adjudication process is centered on preventing individuals with a predisposition from accessing classified information by requiring an individual to obtain a security clearance through a rigorous verification process. Ursula Wilder iterates that this is a critical component because, without access to information, an

individual is unable to defect.[224] A second aspect influencing the government's anti-defection measures result from the conclusion, drawn by directed research on motivation for defection, that money, divergent loyalties, and personality predisposition are the primary contributing factors that contribute to an individual's defection.[225] In attempting to counter these factors, the government has developed and implemented programs during an individual's employment and post-employment, which focus on fostering a deeper connection, and loyalty, to one's community (both the intelligence community and the community they live in); financial assistance through programs such as tuition reimbursement; and the suppression of the dissemination of classified information. While many of these programs seek to create a "win-win" situation, the government is willing to take extraordinary measures to protect its national interests.[226]

In all, the U.S. government has developed plans of action and mitigation techniques, drawn from the conclusions those researching motivation for defection within the intelligence community, in enacting policies and procedures aimed at preventing and detecting defection within the intelligence community. However, as previously assessed, those that have been directing their research on motivation for defection within the intelligence community have actually been evaluating broad frameworks and a basic outline of potential aspects of an individual's motivational predisposition that could be leveraged to coerce defection. Therefore, while the government's policies have been informed by research, their actions, like those conducting directed research, is limited to the superficial components of an individual's motivation. This problem of superficial fixation fails to account for more complex motivational

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[224] Wilder, "The Psychology of Espionage."
[225] Shedd, *Personnel Security Adjudicative Guidelines.*
[226] CIA, "Publications Review Board."

states that the previous case studies revealed. One egregious example of this is outlined in the case study of Aldrich Ames. In the case of Ames, his true motivation can be traced back to personality predisposition and his divergent loyalties; however, many continue to see his motivation as primarily financially motivated because of a fixation on the "symptoms" of his true motivation.

Two primary critiques of the current actions taken by the government stem from this inability to accommodate conclusions beyond the research focusing on defection. The first critique lies in the understanding that research directed at motivation for defection reduces motivation to five categories, such as in MICE, and any new underlying motivational conditions will continue to fall under the established categories. The government, using the directed research as a guide to inform their defection prevention policies, is now unable to develop beyond existing policies because they see no change in what leads an individual to defect, leaving governmental policies unable to adjust to changing motivational trends, forcing them to maintain their current policies, which may or may not be the most effective option available.

A second critique is an inability for the government to head off defection before it begins. This inability is systemic due to two primary factors. The first is that, the government, relying on the five categories to inform them of who is at risk of defecting, focuses their search on individuals exhibiting the factors outlined in the categories. This fixation allows those that have motivational ambitions to defect, not yet superficially evident, to continue to become increasingly more prone to defect. This is evident in the case of Aldrich Ames, where the argument can be made that, if Ames' predisposition was head off earlier in his career cycle, he may have been either apprehended or prevented from defection in the first place. However, since the complexity of Ames' case was outside the scope of the government's understanding, his

deviant behavior progressed from mere theft to defection, due to aggravating factors, and continued, for nine years, until his superficial motivations came to the attention of the CIA. A second factor hindering the governments predictive ability, is a lack of theoretical structure proposed by those researching motivation for defection. Their failure leads to multiple observations, yet provides little insight into the way in which "financial motivations" interact with other components of an individual's life to lead to defection.

Therefore, the government, while unable to stop all defections, has taken actions to prevent and detect defection informed by research by establishing pre-employment procedures and programs during and post-employment to counter the conclusions drawn by research directed at motivation for defection within the intelligence community. However, this focus has left the government unable to understand the complexity of motivation for defection, and thus an individual's true motivations, leaving the government fixated on preventing and detecting defection among those with superficial symptoms. In all, while the true extent of all defection will never be known, for a variety of reasons, the government has clearly taken actions to prevent defection, based upon their own understanding, yet, are left exposed due to their limited understanding of motivation for defection and a lack of theoretical framework from which to evaluate defection.

The Pervasive and Inevitable Problems

One key theme throughout the research presented has been the idea of uncertainty. Beginning with the uncertainty surrounding international relations, to the uncertainty of intelligence, leading to an understanding of uncertainty in determining an individual's motivations. While this section also presents inescapable uncertainty, I also present four

omnipresent components that will always lead to difficulty when studying motivation for defection and implementing government policies directed at preventing or detecting defection within the intelligence community.

The first aspect that must be addressed is the difficulty in understanding the true motivations of individuals working within the intelligence community. This difficulty emanates from a government's desire to heavily invests in the formal and professional education and abilities of its officers to be able to outmaneuver other states' intelligence agencies. Therefore, the problem in evaluating motivation for defection, and preventing and detecting defection, within the intelligence community is that you are working against officers that have been trained to be the best in deception and manipulation. Ultimately, in the act of defection within the intelligence community, the tools of deception and manipulation that have been honed to outmaneuver rivals is turned against the state, presenting the inescapable conundrum of the better a government makes their intelligence professionals, the more damage they can do themselves.

The second component that must be understood is that, no matter how true the government's understanding of motivation for defection or how perfect their policies of prevention and detection, to implement effective policies and actions to combat defection there needs to be intimate intergovernmental coordination. This difficulty is evident in the previous analyses of John Walker and Edward Howard, where, with more intergovernmental coordination, the effects of their defections could have been recognized sooner and the effects of their defection, mitigated. The pervasive nature of this component is that there will always be a finite amount of resources allocated from the U.S. government and the agencies will always be vying for as much of those resources, leading to a zero-sum game and encouraging them to do things "in house". While interagency is still a point of contention, the U.S. government has taken active

steps to encourage increased cooperation through efforts, such as the creation of interagency task forces.[227]

The third pervasive aspect that garners attention, is the fact that, even if the U.S. government truly understood motivation for defection perfectly and was able to implement it perfectly through interagency cooperation, those upholding the policies are human beings with the choice to either abide by the policies set forward or not. This observation stems from evidence supported by various cases, where, according to documented policy, an individual should have been reprimanded, penalized, or even fired, yet was not because their transgressions were overlooked.

A final component to take into consideration when evaluating an individual's motivation for defection prevention and detection, is that throughout every aspect of the process of creating and implementing policy and safeguards, human beings play an inescapable role. People are shaped by an infinite number of psychological and environmental factors that influence their decision-making. Throughout any given day they are presented with an absorbent amount of choices to make ranging from something as simple as whether they are going to brush their teeth to something as monumental as quitting a job. Therefore, throughout the process of attempting to evaluate an individual's motivation for defection, there must be recognition of the abundance of factors that contribute to an individual's motivation. However, it also effects whether an individual is willing to act on the policies designed to prevent and detect the defection of others in the community. Ultimately, the human "factor" that must be taken into account when evaluating motivation for defection within the intelligence community must also be considered

[227] Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "The National Counterterrorism Center," Who We Are, accessed September 12, 2019, https://www.dni.gov/index.php/nctc-who-we-are.

when developing and implementing policies to prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community, leading to a perpetual sense of uncertainty.

A Way Forward

In response to my critiques of the way in which those studying motivation for defection have failed in assisting in the government's ability to prevent and detect defection, I bring forward two proposals to address the previous shortcomings. My proposals seek to provide a way forward within the study of motivation for defection while also providing recommendations for increased governmental efforts aimed at preventing and detecting defection.

The first proposal is in the need to develop the field of defection studies based on discovering the motivation for defection, not the situation that was leveraged to encouraged the individual to defect. The divergence of the two is that the "situation" can be described as the "last straw" or the most readily identifiable aspect that led to the defection, while the motivation is the true underlying causes of the defection, which may or may not coincide with the situation that led to the defection. A second recommendation is for the direct inclusion of academic work into defection studies. Much of the work focusing on defection stemmed either from practitioners within the intelligence community or from the government. I'm not implying that those focused on this topic are intentionally biased, but that there are inherent differences in an individual's perspective on a situation, shaped by their life experiences, and that the foundation set forward by practitioners would be better suited if aided by the work of academics. A final recommendation for the study of motivation for defection within the intelligence community is to establish a framework from which they make their observations before attempting to draw conclusions. Developing and utilizing a theoretical framework effectively narrows down the

questions a field of study seeks to answer, [228] and its establishment would provide a standard way to evaluate previous and future cases of defection. In summation, before moving to make practical suggestions within the intelligence community, those evaluating motivation for defection within the intelligence community need to focus on establishing a theoretical basis aimed at determining an individual's motivation for defection. This enhancement of the field of study as a whole will translate to enhanced practical capabilities, such as developing improved tools for intelligence officers and would prove more valuable for policy makers by identifying root motivational causes for defection.

The second recommendation to better prevent and detect defection, in regards to government policy and procedures, is multipronged. The first aspect is the need for the government to have a more thorough understanding of motivation and the role it plays in an individual's defection. To meet this requirement, those studying motivation for defection must make the necessary changes previously described. However, the research will only be able to be conducted if the government fulfills its obligation to supply the necessary funding towards, and prioritization of, establishing a better understanding of defection. A second recommendation for change is increased communication within the intelligence community. It was markedly noted, through the case studies that the intelligence agencies have increased cross-agency communication throughout the years. However, when information is time sensitive continued integration would only further benefit the efforts to prevent and detect defection. A third proposal is for the intelligence community to increase community integration. Current efforts by agencies include post-employment community building opportunities; however, efforts taken by the government to inform, and therefore more closely align, the larger public with the

[228] Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.*

intelligence community, would serve two purposes. The first would be that those coming on as an intelligence officer would already have a sense of identification with the intelligence community, allowing for a deeper ideological integration. While a second consideration would be the intelligence community's reciprocation of a feeling of alignment with the community they are serving. A final proposal for actions to be taken, or continued, by the government to better prevent and detect defection, is the promotion of the values of the intelligence community. Many specific values include rule adherence, upholding one's obligation, and instilling a sense of duty to one's country. This effort would be two-pronged in its efforts to prevent defection. First, it would enhance social bonds, a proven factor to mitigate deviant behavior. A second benefit would be that the inherently unpredictability of whether an individual would uphold the standards and policies, would be decreased because of the communal pressures and obligations that one would have to uphold those duties and obligations.

Throughout this chapter, I presented a critique, that those focusing on motivation for defection within the intelligence community oversimplified an explanation of motivation into five categories, which lead to a myriad of difficulties. The primary deficiency was in a lack of theoretical framework, which, in efforts to fully inform the government on motivation for defection, failed to determine an individual's motivation for defection. This failure led to the U.S. government to lack an exhaustive understanding of the complexities of factors motivating defection. However, I also acknowledge that those studying motivation for defection, and the government, will have to continually confront a variety of pervasive factors stemming from an individual's free will and unpredictable nature. I conclude by proposing various ways to rectify the deficiencies in defection studies while also proposing ways the government can move forward in their efforts to better prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

One primary theme throughout international relations has been uncertainty. Many states have sought to mitigate this through the use of intelligence agencies. It is at this junction that my work begins. In identifying HUMINT as a critical component in rectifying these uncertainties, I sought to answer the question, *does current research on motivation for defection adequately inform government procedures to prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community?* In my efforts to answer this question, I address the role that motivation has in the intelligence community; how motivation has previously been discussed; and how individuals have applied motivational studies to defection. After establishing an understanding of what motivates an individual to defect, I applied these lessons to five case studies.

The application of the previous research demonstrated a variety of reasons an individual would defect, including an individual's predisposition to react negatively to a stressful situation, an inclination to engage in deviant behavior, or sub-threshold personality defects; divergent loyalties; discontent with the agency they were working for; and or financial incentives. However, in analyzing motivation for defection in the case studies demonstrated several deficiencies in the work of those focusing on motivation for defection within the intelligence community. Ultimately, this study demonstrated that their work focused not on motivation, but on how to leverage an individual's predispositions and direct them towards defection. This fixation set off a series of irreconcilable deficiencies, with the primary one being a lack of established theoretical framework. This hindered the assessment of past cases, requiring the use of various theoretical applications to justify an assessment of what motivated an individual to defect.

The lack of a theoretical framework, in turn, has led to an incomplete understanding of what motivates an individual to defect. Therefore, I assess that current research on motivation for defection within the intelligence community does not adequately inform government policy and procedures to prevent and detect defection within the intelligence community.

In light of this claim, I propose a two-pronged approach to move forward in better preventing and detecting defection within the intelligence community. The first component is for the government to increase inter-agency cooperation, in combination with bolstering funds for the programs that are already in place to deter individuals from defecting. The second component is for the government to allocate sufficient capital (financial and political) to those studying motivation for defection, to: 1) Shift their study from developing tools for intelligence officers, to studying motivation for defection and 2) Develop a theoretical framework from which to understand defection within the intelligence community.

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